WORKS ISSUED BY

THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY

THE TRAVELS OF IBN BAṬṬŪṬA

A.D. 1325–1354

VOL. I

SECOND SERIES

No. CX

ISSUED FOR 1956

THE TRAVELS OF IBN BAṬṬŪṬA

A.D. 1325 - 1354

Translated with revisions and notes
from the Arabic text edited by
C. DEFRÉMERY and B. R. SANGUINETTI

by

H. A. R. GIBB

VOL. I

CAMBRIDGE
Published for the Hakluyt Society
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1958

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Fig. 2 is adapted from the plan of J. Sauvaget, *Les monuments historiques de Damas* (1932), pl. IV. Figs. 4, 5 and 6 are based on the plans of Eldon Rutter, *The Holy Cities of Arabia* (1938), by kind permission of the publishers, Messrs. Putnam & Co., Ltd. The maps and plans have been drawn by Mr. E. C. Jones.

FOREWORD

ALMOST everything that is known of the life and personality of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa is derived from his own narrative of his travels. Only one brief biographical notice of him has been discovered up to the present; this is quoted from statements by the vizier of Granada, Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 1374), and Ibn Marzūq, a scholar from Tlemsen who became Grand Qāḍī at Cairo (d. 1379), in the biographical dictionary of eminent persons of the eighth century of the Hijra era, compiled by Ibn Ḥajar of Ascalon (d. 1448), with the title of *Al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 'The Concealed Pearls'. The notice is as follows:

'Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf, of the tribe of Luwāta and the city of Ṭanja, Abū 'Abdallāh Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. Ibn al-Khaṭīb says: He had a modest share of the sciences, and journeyed to the East in Rajab [seven hundred and] twenty-five, travelled through its lands, penetrated into 'Irāq al-'Ajam, then entered India, Sind and China, and returned through al-Yaman. He made the Pilgrimage in the year twenty-six, and met a great host of kings and shaikhs. He spent some time [at Mecca] as a 'sojourner', and then returned to India, where the king appointed him to the office of qāḍī. He came away later and returned to the Maghrib, where he related his doings and what had befallen him, and what he had learned of its people. Our shaikh Abu'l-Barakāt Ibn al-Balfīqī told us of many strange things which he had seen. Among them was that he claimed to have entered Constantinople and to have seen in its church twelve thousand bishops. He subsequently crossed the Strait to the [Spanish] coast and visited the Negrolands. Thereafter the ruler of Fez summoned him and commanded him to commit his travels to writing. Ends

I have seen in the handwriting of Ibn Marzūq [the statement] that Abū 'Abdallāh ibn Juzayy put his work into elegant literary style by command of the sultan Abū 'Inān. Al-Balfīqī had charged him with lying, but Ibn Marzūq cleared him of the charge, he added that he lived to the year 70 (1368-9) and died

while holding the office of qāḍī in some town or other. Ibn Marzūq said also: 'And I know of no person who has journeyed through so many lands as [he did] on his travels, and he was withal generous and welldoing'. (*Durar*, III, 480–1.)

A greater contemporary, the historian Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406), has preserved in the celebrated *Prolegomena* to his history an eye-witness account of his reception at the court of Abū 'Inān, and of the scepticism roused by his astonishing stories (although these, as Ibn al-Khaṭīb's notice shows, were sometimes considerably embellished at second hand). He has, however, nothing to say of the man himself, and no other reference to him is known. But the traveller himself more than makes up for this deficiency. Out of the small details and reflexions scattered here and there throughout his narrative his personality and temperament are gradually revealed, with such candour and truth to life that at the end the reader knows Ibn Baṭṭūṭa with an intimacy seldom equalled in eastern medieval records.

Born at Tangier in 1304, into a family which had a tradition of judicial service as *qāḍīs*, he had no doubt received the usual literary and scholastic education of his class before setting out, at the age of twenty-one, to make the Pilgrimage to Mecca. The Pilgrimage was, for an ambitious youth, not only the fulfilment of one of the duties laid by his Faith upon every able-bodied Muslim, but also an opportunity to broaden his education and enhance his qualifications for judicial office by contact and study with the famous scholars of the East. From the care with which he lists the scholars and saints whom he met, especially on his first journey, and the diplomas conferred on him at Damascus, it would seem that this was, indeed, the limit of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's original purpose. But already on his way through Egypt there appear in his narrative the first hints of what, he confesses, was to become his ruling passion, 'to travel through the earth'. After reaching Mecca for his first Pilgrimage by way of Syria, instead of remaining there to study, he spent the intervening year before his second in further exploration of the classical lands of Islamic culture. Having already made it a rule 'never, so far as possible, to cover a second time any road' that he had once travelled, he chose a complicated route through southern

'Irāq and south-western Persia to Baghdād, and thence travelled to Tabriz and northern Mesopotamia before returning via Baghdād to Mecca.

What is remarkable about this second journey is that, still so young, he is beginning to be a person of consequence, and this from the moment of leaving Mecca, when he travelled to Kūfa under the direct protection of the commander of the pilgrim caravan. He is interested now not only in saints and scholars, but quite as much in the persons and histories of the sultans on his way, and contrives to be introduced to them and to benefit from their customary benevolences to the religious profession and their recommendations to their subordinates on his behalf. At this early stage, some part of the favours he received may perhaps be attributed to curiosity and interest in the traveller from the Far West, but it is evident that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was already learning the ropes for the prosecution of his design.

Having further qualified himself by spending two or three years more at Mecca, his third journey took him, now with a retinue of followers, down both shores of the Red Sea to Yemen, where he met the monsoon rains for the first time, then from Aden to the trading posts on the coast of East Africa, and back along the southern coast of Arabia to Oman and the Persian Gulf. In this account of his journey into lesser-known parts his awakened curiosity about places and the customs of their peoples rather than in pursuit of scholarship becomes still more apparent.

Another pilgrimage to Mecca, in 1332 by his own dating, served as prelude to the major purpose he now had in mind. The fame of the Sultan of India, Muḥammad bin Tughluq, and of his apparently limitless generosity to foreign scholars, was an irresistible lure to a man of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's character. But fate or fortune intervened. Finding no ship at Jedda, he turned northwards instead and, passing through Egypt and Syria again, took ship at Latakia for 'the land of the Turks'. His journey through the length and breadth of Asia Minor, welcomed and befriended by the numerous sultans and local religious brotherhoods, is one of the most valuable sources for the history of that country at the beginning of the Ottoman adventure. Crossing thence from Sinope to the Crimea, in the

territories of the Khān of the Golden Horde, he travelled overland to the Khān's camp in the Caucasus. After intercalating a dubious visit to Bulghār, the ancient capital of Great Bulgaria, he found an unexpected opportunity to visit Constantinople in the retinue of the Khān's third wife, a Greek princess who was returning on a visit to her parents. The journey through south Russia is scrappily described, but of his experiences at Constantinople itself he gives a lively and curious account. Returning in winter through the steppes to Sarai, the capital of the Golden Horde, he now set out on the long journey to India overland, through Khīva, Bukhārā, Samarqand and Balkh, and thence by a route difficult to follow through Khurasan and Afghanistan, until at last he reached the frontiers of India on the Indus river on 12 September 1333, with an imposing train of attendants.

The length and detail of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's description of India and his activities and travels there bear their own witness to the deep impress which they made upon his mind and memory. From the passage of Ibn Khaldūn referred to above, it can be inferred that it was his stories of India which evoked the greatest scepticism at the court of Fez. But there is, indeed, little exaggeration in what must have seemed to his Moroccan hearers as fabulous as the tales of Sinbad. What he has to say on the court, the administration, the extraordinary personality of Sultan Muḥammad, and other matters of contemporary history, is generally borne out by the Indian historians, and his observations on social customs supplement them with a mass of vivid and valuable detail. His sinecure as Mālikite Grand *Qāḍī* of Delhi lasted for several years, until the all but inevitable rupture occurred. By good fortune Ibn Baṭṭūṭa escaped with his life, and was shortly afterwards restored to favour and selected for an unusual mission as the Sultan's envoy to the Mongol Emperor of China in 1342.

An adventurous journey through Central India and down the Malabar coast ended in disaster at Calicut. Finding little satisfaction among the petty sultans of Malabar, he chose to go to the Maldive Islands, spent eighteen months there as *qāḍī*, but eventually found it expedient to leave and went to Ceylon, where he made the pilgrimage to the 'Foot of Adam' on Adam's Peak. Further desultory travelling on the Coro-

mandel and Malabar coasts and another brief visit to the Maldives followed, before he belatedly resumed his mission as envoy to China. Since he had still some months to wait for the sailing season, he filled in time by a visit to Bengal and Assam, and thence took ship for Sumatra. Here he was provided by the Muslim ruler with a junk, and sailed by a route that has taxed the ingenuity of his commentators to the great Chinese port known to the medieval travellers as Zaytūn. His further travels inside China as far as Peking are more briefly related than might have been expected, and present almost as many difficulties and problems.

His stay in China was, in any case, a relatively short one, and on returning by Sumatra to Malabar in 1347 he decided that the time had come to return to the West. The homeward journey is briefly told: through the Persian Gulf to Baghdād, and thence to Syria (where he witnessed the fearful ravages of the 'Black Death' of 1348) and through Egypt back to Mecca for yet another Pilgrimage. Returning to Egypt, he sailed from Alexandria to Tunisia, and again from Tunis by Catalan ship via Sardinia to Tenes in Algiers, thence overland to Fez, with not a few alarms on both sea and land.

Even yet, however, his ambitions were not satisfied. After a brief stay at Fez he crossed the Strait to visit Andalusia, where the kingdom of Granada was still flourishing, and on returning to Morocco set out on what was probably the most adventurous journey of all. The Muslim Mandingos had recently built up a powerful negro empire on the Niger; this was the object of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's last journey, involving two hazardous crossings of the Sahara. Here again his narrative constitutes a major source for the history of West Africa, in addition to its interest for its own sake. With his return to Fez and the sultan's command to dictate his reminiscences to the secretary Ibn Juzayy, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa passes from sight, and one can only guess at the manner in which he passed his last years as a *qāḍī* 'in some town or other'.

Like many other many-volumed Arabic works, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's *Travels* circulated in later times mainly in abridged editions. The first complete translation of these epitomes was published by Samuel Lee in the Oriental Translations series in 1829, under the title of *The Travels of Ibn Batūta translated*

from the abridged Arabic Manuscript Copies, with extensive notes by the translator. In the following years, several copies of the full text having been found in the Maghrib, it was edited with a French translation by MM. C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti for the Société Asiatique in four volumes, Paris, 1853–8. This text, with its apparatus of variant readings, remains the standard edition. No further manuscripts have become accessible in later years, in spite of occasional reports of their existence in private hands in the Maghrib, nor is it likely that any new manuscripts would furnish any substantial improvements. Both text and translation were for their period remarkable achievements. Critical editions of the *Travels* of Ibn Jubair and of other works have since made it possible to emend a number of readings, and Dozy's great *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* and other lexical aids have cleared up many points of vocabulary, but on the whole the work of Defrémery and Sanguinetti has stood the test of time.

Their edition is the basis of the present translation. It has not been possible to re-examine the manuscripts in close detail, but a few MS readings have been checked, and in many small points the translation will be found to depart from that of the French editors. It should be said, however, that the rendering of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's Arabic presents some peculiar difficulties. Since it is reasonably certain that he dictated the work in a semi-spoken style, and that Ibn Juzayy was responsible for its editing in literary form, there are a number of passages in which it is difficult to be sure of the precise significance of certain turns of phrase—whether, for example, to translate certain terms in their classical literary sense or in the local Moroccan usage, so far as the latter is known. The present translator has endeavoured to compare all uses of such terms and phrases in the various passages in which they are found, but some of them still remain doubtful, and are, in fact, used in different senses here and there.

The fragments of poetry occasionally quoted by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa or his editor have been rendered as far as possible faithfully, but (except for one or two) with some semblance of metre and rhyme. The external decoration is almost essen-

tial if anything of the spirit of this ornamented art is to be conveyed in translation, and if the results are often trifling, it must be pleaded that most of the originals are themselves trifles.

A difficulty of another kind is presented by the problem of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's itinerary. It is quite certain that in many sections of the work the itineraries are artificial, in the sense that two or more journeys in the same country, Egypt, Syria, or India, have been combined, and in several other sections confused. The task of disentangling them is all but hopeless, and what can be said on the subject will, it is proposed, be be set out in a terminal essay. For the present, such indications as may be found in the text from time to time are pointed out in the notes. In lieu of a general introduction to the present translation, attention may be drawn to the excellent study by Herman F. Janssens, *Ibn Batoutah, 'Le Voyageur de l'Islam'*, published in the Collection Lebègue, Brussels 1948.

The annotation of the text has been made as full as possible without entering into excessive detail. Besides the geographical identifications, all technical terms, customs and allusions have been, it is hoped, sufficiently explained to render the narrative fully intelligible. In addition, an effort has been made to identify most of the persons mentioned in the text, not so much for academic reasons, as because the biographical confrontation may from time to time help to clear up points relating to the itineraries, and at the same time constitutes valuable evidence of the veracity and precision of the narrative. It will be seen that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa occasionally makes, in regard to the names or titles of persons whom he mentions, slips and errors similar to those which occur in the names of places. They are, however, remarkably few, at least in this first volume. The chief sources used for checking the biographical data were:

Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, biographical dictionary covering the eighth century A.H. (fourteenth century A.D.) in 4 volumes, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1348–50/1929–31 (cited as *Durar*).

Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, a history of Egypt in 12 volumes, vols IX–X, Cairo 1942–9 (cited as *Nujūm*).

Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī*, biographical dictionary, summarized by G. Wiet, *Les biographies du Manhal Safi*, Cairo 1932 (cited as *Manhal*).

'Abd al-Qādir al-Nu'aimī, *al-Dāris fī ta'rīkh al-Madāris*, a history of the colleges of Damascus in 2 volumes, Damascus 1948–51 (cited as *Dāris*).

Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlūkensultāne in den Jahren 690–741 *der Hiǵra nach arabischen Handschriften*, Egyptian historical diaries, edited by K. V. Zetterstéen, Leiden 1919 (cited as Zetterstéen).

Two other works are occasionally cited by abbreviations in the notes:

Encyclopaedia of Islam, edited by M. Th. Houtsma *et al.*, 4 volumes and supplement, Leiden 1913–38. New edition in course of preparation, Leiden 1954– . (Cited as *E. I.*)

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's Travels in Asia and Africa, translated and selected by H. A. R. Gibb, London (Broadway Travellers series) 1929. (Cited as *Selections.*)

The numbers printed in the margin refer to the pages of the edition of the Arabic text by Defrémery and Sanguinetti, Vol. 1. The division into chapters is an arbitrary addition to the text, for the convenience of modern readers.

April 1957 H. A. R. GIBB

ABBREVIATIONS

BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
Dāris	*al-Dāris fī ta'rīkh al-Madāris*. By 'Abd al-Qādir al-Nu'aimī.
Durar	*al-Durar al-Kāmina*. By Ibn Ḥajar al-'Askalānī.
E.I.	*Encyclopaedia of Islam*.
Geogr. J.	*Geographical Journal*, London.
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London.
Nujūm	*al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*. By Ibn Taghrībirdī.
Selections	*Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's Travels in Asia and Africa*. Translated and selected by H. A. R. Gibb.
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Berlin.
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Berlin.
Zetterstéen	*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlūkensultāne in den Jahren* 690–741 *der Hiğra*. Edited by K. V. Zetterstéen.

Ibn Juzayy's Introduction in which the origin and compilation of the book is set forth

IN THE NAME OF GOD THE MERCIFUL ONE THE COMPASSIONATE

These are the words of the learned doctor of law, the trustworthy, illustrious, godly and most pious shaikh, the guest of God and visitor to His sanctuary,[1] the honour of the Faith, who in his travels stayed himself upon the Lord of the Universe, Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Lawātī al-Ṭanjī,[2] known as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, may God have mercy on him and be pleased with him through His grace and bounty. Amen. Amen.

Praise be to God,[3] Who hath subdued the earth to His servants that they may tread spacious ways therein, and hath ordained therefrom and thereunto their three stages of growth, return, and extraction;[4] Who hath spread it out by His power so that it became as a smooth bed for His servants, and hath held it firm by immovable ranges and mountains, and raised above it the canopy of the sky without pillars; Who hath made the stars to rise for guidance in the darknesses of land and sea, and hath set the moon as a light and the sun as a lamp; Who hath made also water to descend from the heavens and hath revived the earth therewith after its

[1] I.e. who has made the Pilgrimage to Mecca.

[2] I.e. descended from the Berber tribe of Lawāta, and native of Tangier (Arabic, Ṭanja).

[3] Here follow the praises and invocations to God, the Prophet, and the Prophet's house and Companions, with which all Muslim literary works open. These passages are written in rhyming prose, and consist mainly of phrases from and allusions to the Qur'ān, combined in a manner appropriate to the subject-matter of the work in hand.

[4] I.e. birth, burial, and resurrection.

death and hath made fruits of every sort to grow thereon; Who hath created its regions with diversities of plants and made channels for the two seas, fresh sweet water and bitter 3 salt water; Who hath made perfect his bounty | towards His creatures by subduing the beasts of the field for their carriage and the vessels upraised like mountains to their control that they may bestride the ridge of the wilderness and ride upon the deeps of the ocean.

May God visit with His Blessing our lord and master Muḥammad, His Apostle, who made plain for His creatures an Highway and brought the light of His guidance to shine forth in splendour; whom God Most High sent as a token of mercy to the worlds and chose to be seal to the Prophets; whose falchions He empowered over the necks of the polytheists so that the peoples entered into the Faith of God in multitudes; whom He aided by surpassing miracles, giving speech to inanimate things that they might testify to the truth of his mission, restoring life at his prayer to rotten bones, and causing water to gush forth from between his fingers.[5]

May God Most High be pleased with those who are ennobled by claim to association with him, as companions, descendants, and wives;[6] who made straight the lance of the 4 Faith | so that we should not fear crookedness after them; for these are they who seconded him in striving against the enemies of the Faith, and aided him to the triumph of the unspotted religion; who carried out its noble obligations of emigration, succour, and asylum,[7] and who threw themselves in his defence into a burning fire of war and plunged into a boisterous sea of death.

We pray God Most High for our master, the Caliph-Imām, the Commander of the Faithful, who places his trust in God the Lord of the Universe, who strives [against the infidels] in

[5] A reference to three of the most popular miracles ascribed to Muḥammad. A tree or trees, it is said, audibly saluted him as the Messenger of God; he restored to life a sheep which had just been eaten by his companions; and when on an expedition his troops were afflicted with thirst, water spouted from his fingers in such quantities as to suffice for all.

[6] The writer, being a strict Sunni, puts the Companions above the Family.

[7] Referring to those citizens of Mecca who accompanied or followed the Prophet in his emigration (*muhājirūn*), and the citizens of al-Madīna who aided and welcomed him and them (*anṣār*); see p. 167, n. 51.

the Path of God, who is strengthened by the help of God, Abū 'Inān Fāris,[8] the descendant of our masters the rightly guided Imāms and orthodox Caliphs, that He will bestow upon him such succour as will fill the world and its peoples with joy, and such prosperity as will prove a remedy for the crippling disease of the age, as He hath bestowed upon him might which hath spared no oppressor and generosity which hath neglected no needy one, and hath made by his sword and his beneficence | a means of issue from every distress. 5

To proceed, it has been pronounced by all intellects and determined by arguments which appeal to reason and to traditional lore that this sublime and Faith-championing Caliphate of Fāris al-Mutawakkil is indeed the Shadow of God which is extended over mankind,[9] and His rope whereon to lay hold,[10] and in the ranks of obedience to whom it is incumbent to range oneself. For this Caliphate it is which has brought healing to the Faith in its hour of sickening, and has forced back into its scabbard the sword of hostility in its hour of unsheathing, which has restored soundness to the days after they had fallen into disorder, and brought back prosperity to the bazaar of learning after it had grown sluggish, which has made plain the ways of piety when they were obliterated, and restored tranquillity to the regions of the earth when they were in commotion, which has brought to life the ancient usages of generosity after their death, and has put to death the practices of tyranny after their flourishing life, which has extinguished the fire of discord at its moment

[8] Sultan of Morocco, 1348–58, and the first of the Marīnid line to assume the style of the caliphate and a throne-title, *al-Mutawakkil 'ala'llāh*, 'He who places his trust in God'.

[9] The extinction of the 'Abbāsid caliphate at Baghdād in 1256 led to many claims by other rulers to the vacant dignity, and in particular by the Ḥafṣid kings (descended from the former Almohad sultans of Morocco) who ruled in Tunis. Their claim is here rejected in favour of Abū 'Inān, as being the only ruler who fulfils the legal and traditional qualifications for the caliphate. For all other temporal rulers, great and small alike, Muslim and also non-Muslim, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa uses the non-committal term 'sultan' (properly *sulṭān*), which implied only *de facto* possession of temporal authority. For the diplomatic activities of the Marīnids to assert their pretensions to the caliphate, see M. Canard in *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, Algiers, V (1939–41), 74–5, 78.

[10] An allusion to Qur'ān, iii, 98: 'Lay hold on the rope of God in unanimity and fall not into division.'

of flaming, and overthrown the judgments of iniquity in their hour of undisputed rule, which has raised the edifices of 6 rectitude upon the pillars of God-fearing, | and has laid firm hold of the strongest stay by placing its trust in God.[11] Wherefore it is conjoined with majesty whose crown is bound upon the temples of the Twins, and with glory that sweeps with its skirts the Galaxy of heaven; with fortune that has restored to time the freshness of its youth, and with justice that has extended its protection to the household of the Faith;[12] with generosity the distillation of whose clouds is fine silver and pure gold, and with might the outpouring of whose mists is a rain of streaming blood; with divine aid the scatterings of whose squadrons are doom, and with heavenly support but a part of whose spoils are empires; with vigour whose sword anticipates reproach, and with patience in whose presence hope grows not weary; with resolution which forbids to its enemies the well-watered pasturages, and with firmness of purpose which scatters their hosts ere the shock of its squadrons; with forbearance which gathers a harvest of righteousness from the fruit-trees of misdeeds, and with 7 compassion | which moves the thoughts of all hearts to unite in affection towards it; with knowledge whose light dispels the glooms of enigmas, and with an equity which is bounded by singleness of mind, since 'actions are to be judged by their intentions'.[13]

When his Sublime Residence became the cynosure of hopes and the pasturage of men's aspirations, the depository of the merchandise of the virtues and concourse of the security of the affrighted and of the desire of the suppliant, the age sought to do homage to it by offering the choicest of its gifts and the rarest of its treasures, so that men of learning streamed to it as its copious rains [of generosity] stream down upon noble qualities, and men of letters contended in

[11] A play upon Abū 'Inān's throne-title; see above, p. 3, n. 9.

[12] Literally, 'has extended its outstretched guy-ropes over the people of the Faith', in allusion to the ancient Arab custom whereby a suppliant claimed protection from a chief by grasping the guy-ropes of his tent.

[13] Quoting the famous saying attributed to Muḥammad with which the canonical collection of Traditions, the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, opens. The panegyrist means that even if all his actions may not have a happy issue, they deserve praise since his intentions are always good.

hastening to it as its resolves contend with one another [in bounty] towards the fulfilling of promises. The enlightened made pilgrimage to its illustrious sanctuary, and travellers set themselves to seek access to its high-storied abode;[14] the fearful sought a citadel of refuge[15] in the might of its majesty, and kings sought for protection by homage to its gates. It is the pole upon which revolves the axis of the world, and in conviction of its pre-eminence | the intuitive judgment 8 of ignorant and learned is unanimous; its surpassing glories are related in unimpeachable narratives for which every Muslim stands guarantor, and the perfection of its transparent virtues is eloquently attested by every informer.

There was, among those who resorted to its illustrious Gate, and who passed over the trickles of other lands to approach its swelling sea, the Shaikh learned in the Law, the most trustworthy and veracious traveller, the ranger of the earth and traverser of its climes in length and breadth, Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Lawātī al-Ṭanjī, known as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, and in the Eastern lands as Shams al-Dīn. He, who had encompassed the earth with attentive mind and travelled through its cities with observant eye, and who had investigated the diversities of nations and probed the ways of life of Arabs and non-Arabs, thereafter laid down the staff of the much-travelled in this Sublime Residence, by reason of his knowledge that to it belonged the distinction of superiority without qualification | or exception; he journeyed through the 9 Eastern lands towards the rising-place of its full moon in the West, and gave it in comparison with other regions the preference which is given to gold dust over sand, by free choice after long experience of countries and of men, and from a desire to attach himself to that community which remains attached to the True Faith. Whereupon there overwhelmed him such a portion of his[16] copious beneficence and of his solicitous and unstinted favour as caused him to forget the past in the present and relieved him of the need for distant travel, which made contemptible in his eyes that which

[14] I read *maghnāhā* for *ma'nāhā*; also below *tasāwut* for *tasāwarat*.
[15] Literally, 'sought a refuge in inaccessibility by the support of'.
[16] I.e. of the Sultan Abū 'Inān.

he was wont to find imposing from the hands of others and confirmed in him the belief which he had formed of his pre-eminence; wherefore he forsook the wandering existence to which he had become habituated and after long search for pasture gained at length the fruitful meadow.

A gracious direction was transmitted that he should dictate an account of the cities which he had seen in his travel, and of the interesting events which had clung to his memory, and that he should speak of those whom he had met of the rulers 10 of countries, of their distinguished men of learning, | and of their pious saints. Accordingly, he dictated upon these subjects a narrative which gave entertainment to the mind and delight to the ears and eyes, with a variety of curious particulars by the exposition of which he gave edification and of marvellous things by adverting to which he aroused interest. The exalted command issued to the slave of their illustrious Highness, who has attached himself with singleness of mind to their Gate, and is honoured with employment in the service of their Majesty, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Juzayy al-Kalbī[17] (may God aid him to serve them and inspire him to gratitude for their bounty), that he should assemble that which the Shaikh Abū 'Abdallāh had dictated on these subjects into a compilation which should comprehend what was of profit in them and ensure the full attainment of their objects, giving care to the pruning and polishing of its language and applying himself to its clarification and adaptation to the taste [of readers], that they might find enjoyment in these curiosities and that the profit to be derived from their 11 pearls should be increased in | stripping them from their shell. He therefore set himself straightway to execute the command laid upon him, and went down to draw from his [Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's] spring, that he might by the aid of God faithfully accomplish this design.

I have rendered the sense of the narrative of the Shaikh Abū 'Abdallāh in language which adequately expresses the purposes that he had in mind and sets forth clearly the ends

[17] Born 1321, died 1356 or 1358, of the Arab tribe of Kalb, which had established itself in the region of Granada at the time of the Arab conquest of southern Spain in the eighth century. He was a noted scholar, one of the teachers of Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb, and the author of several works on law and theology.

which he had in view. Frequently I have reported his words in his own phrasing, without omitting either root or branch. I have related all the anecdotes and historical narratives which he related, without applying myself to investigate their truthfulness or to test them, since he himself has adopted the soundest methods of authenticating those of them that are wholly acceptable, and has disclaimed responsibility for the rest of them by expressions which give warning to that effect. I have registered by means of vowel signs and diacritical points [the pronunciation of] those names of places and of men which offer difficulties, in order that it might be more useful in ensuring accuracy and in fixing the orthography, and I have expounded in detail all those that I could expound of | the non-Arabic names, since they are confusing 12 to people by reason of their foreignness, and the ordinary rules of analogy lead to error in solving their cryptographs. And I for my part hope that what I have sought to do will meet with acceptance from his Sublime Majesty, God be his strength, and that I may obtain the indulgence which I crave in overlooking its deficiencies, for they have accustomed men to look for kindly forbearance from them,[18] and their generous qualities are a guarantee for the forgiveness of faults. May God Most High confirm to them for ever His wonted help and empowering, and requite them with the benefits of His support and with glorious victory.

[18] Literally, 'their use and wont in regard to forbearance is characterized by kindliness', the plural pronoun in this and the following clauses (as in a previous passage) being the plural of majesty applied to the sultan.

CHAPTER I

North-West Africa and Egypt

THE Shaikh Abū 'Abdallāh [Ibn Baṭṭūṭa] related as follows:

My departure from Tangier, my birthplace, took place on Thursday the second of the month of God, Rajab the Unique, in the year seven hundred and twenty-five,[1] with the object of making the Pilgrimage to the Holy House [at Mecca] and of visiting the tomb of the Prophet, God's richest blessing and peace be on him [at Madīna]. I set out alone, having neither fellow-traveller in whose companionship I 13 might find cheer, | nor caravan whose party I might join, but swayed by an overmastering impulse within me and a desire long-cherished in my bosom to visit these illustrious sanctuaries. So I braced my resolution to quit all my dear ones, female and male, and forsook my home as birds forsake their nests. My parents being yet in the bonds of life, it weighed sorely upon me to part from them, and both they and I were afflicted with sorrow at this separation. My age at that time was twenty-two [lunar] years. (Note by Ibn Juzayy.[2] Abū 'Abdallāh told me in the city of Granada that he was born at Tangier on Tuesday 17th Rajab al-Fard of the year seven hundred and three [25 February 1304].)

(Resumes.) The beginning of my journey was in the days of the Commander of the Faithful, the Defender of the Faith, the

[1] Rajab ('Awe') the seventh month of the Muhammadan year was in ancient Arabia a sacred month, dedicated to the Meccan Pilgrimage or '*Umra*, and this character was to some extent carried over into Islam. The Muhammadan year (*Annus Hegirae*) 725 began on or about 18 December 1324; according to the astronomical calendar Rajab should have begun on Thursday 13 June 1325, but being dependent on local observation of the moon it varied from place to place, and was evidently considered in Tangier to have begun on Wednesday 12 June.

[2] The compiler of the text; see p. 6, n. 17.

Warrior in the cause of the Lord of the Worlds, the reports of whose bounty have been handed down by linked chains of first-hand authorities and the traditions of whose munificence have acquired a celebrity which bears clear testimony, | by the ornaments of whose merit the days were 14 adorned and in the shadow of whose clemency and justice all men enjoyed abundance, the sanctified Imām Abū Sa'īd, son of our master, the Commander of the Faithful, the Defender of the Faith, the straightness of whose resolves notched the blade of polytheism and the channels of whose scimitars extinguished the fire of infidelity, whose squadrons wrought havoc among the worshippers of the Cross and whose actions were nobly governed by single-minded devotion to the Holy War, the sanctified Imām Abū Yūsuf, son of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq—may God renew His gracious pleasure with them and from the clouds of His liberality may His soft dews and gentle rains water their sanctified tombs, may He reward them with richest reward on behalf of Islam and the Muslims and maintain the kingship in their posterity until the Day of Judgment.[3]

I came then to the city of Tilimsān [Tlemsen], the sultan of which at that time was Abū Tāshifīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mūsā b. 'Othmān b. Yaghmurāsan Ibn Zayyān,[4] and my arrival chanced to coincide with the visit of the two envoys of the king of Africa, | the sultan Abū Yaḥyā (God's mercy 15

[3] Abū Sa'īd 'Othmān (1310–31), grandfather of the reigning sultan Abū 'Inān, was the younger son of Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb (1258–86), who brought final success to the Marīnid movement initiated by his father 'Abd al-Ḥaqq (d. 1217) and his elder brothers. Having captured Marrākesh in 1269 from its former Almohad sultan, subdued Sijilmāsa and Tāfīlālt in 1272, and founded the city of New Fez, Abū Yūsuf devoted the last years of his reign to the defence of Granada against the Castilian kings, Alfonso X and Sancho IV. He gained a notable victory at Ecija in 1275, recovered possession of Tarifa, Cadiz, and other places, and died at Algeciras, leaving a glorious name.

[4] The weakening of the Sanhāja Almohads in Morocco had allowed the rival Berber stock of the Zenāta to recover their independence in western Algeria under the leadership of the house of Zayyān, founded by Yaghmurāsan (reigned 1239–83), with their capital at Tilimsān. The dynasty of the Zayyānids or 'Abd al-Wādids was constantly at war with its Marīnid rivals in Morocco and the Ḥafṣid sultans of Tunis. Abū Tāshifīn (1318–37) was for most of his reign engaged in hostilities with the latter, and his authority extended at this time as far as Algiers (then a place of minor importance).

upon him).[5] These were the qāḍī for marriages in the city of Tunis, namely Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Ibrāhīm al-Nafzāwī, and the pious shaikh Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain b. 'Abdallāh al-Qurashī al-Zubaidī, an ethnic derived from a village [Zubaid] on the coast near al-Mahdīya. He was one of the eminent scholars [of his time] and died in the year 40 [1339–40].

On the day of my arrival at Tilimsān these two envoys left the town, and one of the brethren advised me to travel in their company. I consulted the will of Almighty God[6] in regard to this and after a stay of three nights in Tilimsān to procure what I needed, I left, riding after them with all speed, and on reaching the town of Milyāna[7] overtook them there. This was in the time of the summer heats, and both of the doctors of the law fell sick, on account of which we stopped for a space of ten nights. We then set out again, but the 16 illness of one of them, the qāḍī, had taken a serious turn, | so we stopped for three nights by a stream at a distance of four miles from Milyāna. The qāḍī breathed his last in the forenoon of the fourth day, and his son Abu'l-Ṭayyib and colleague Abū 'Abdallāh al-Zubaidī returned to Milyāna and buried him there. I left them at this point and pursued my journey with a company of merchants from Tunis, amongst them being al-Ḥājj[8] Mas'ūd b. al-Muntaṣir, al-Ḥājj al-'Adūlī, and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥajar. On reaching the town of al-Jazā'ir [Algiers] we camped outside it for some days, until the shaikh Abū 'Abdallāh and the son of the qāḍī arrived, when we went on together through the Mitīja to the Mountain of Oaks[9] and so reached the town of Bijāya [Bougie]. The shaikh Abū 'Abdallāh lodged in the house of the qāḍī of

[5] Africa (Arabic Ifrīqiya) comprised modern Tunisia and eastern Algeria. For Abū Yaḥyā see p. 14, n. 22.

[6] There were various methods in use for this purpose. One was to recite a special litany and await the issue in a dream; another, often resorted to by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, was to take an augury from the Qur'ān after some preliminary recitations.

[7] On modern maps Miliana, still a place of some importance, situated in the valley of the Chelif, fifty-five miles south-west of Algiers.

[8] The title of honour, al-Ḥājj (in Turkish, Ḥājjī), is borne by one who has performed the Pilgrimage (*al-ḥajj*) to Mecca.

[9] The Mitīja is the well-known trough (an old lake-basin) lying behind Algiers; by the Mountain of Oaks (Jabal al-Zān) is apparently meant the eastern part of the Kabylian range (see *E.I.*, II, 597b).

the town, Abū 'Abdallāh al-Zawāwī, and Abu'l-Ṭayyib, the son of the qāḍī, in the house of the jurist[10] Abū 'Abdallāh, the teacher of the exegesis of the Qur'ān.

The governor of Bijāya at this time was the chamberlain Abū | 'Abdallāh Muḥammad Ibn Sayyid al-Nās.[11] Now one of the Tunisian merchants with whom I had travelled from Milyāna, namely the Muḥammad b. al-Ḥajar already referred to, had died, leaving three thousand dīnārs of gold. This money he had given into the custody of a certain man of al-Jazā'ir, named Ibn Ḥadīda, to deliver to his heirs in Tunis. Ibn Sayyid al-Nās came to hear of this, and seized it from him. This was the first example that I witnessed of the tyranny of the agents and governors of the Muwaḥḥids.[12]

When we reached Bijāya, as I have related, I was attacked by fever, and Abū 'Abdallāh al-Zubaidī advised me to stay there until I was fully recovered. But I refused saying, 'If God decrees my death, then my death shall be on the road, with my face set towards the land of the Ḥijāz'. 'Well then', he replied, 'if you are resolved, sell your ass and your heavy baggage, | and I shall lend you ass and tent. In this way you travel with us light, for we must move with all speed for fear of molestation by roving Arabs on the road'.[13] I did as he suggested, and he lent me what he had promised—may God reward him with good! This was the first of the divine mercies which were manifested to me in the course of that journey to the Ḥijāz.

[10] *Faqīh*, literally 'jurist', but already applied, as in modern times, to any person educated at a seminary (*madrasa*) and belonging more or less to the class of professional religious teachers. I have translated it in other contexts by 'doctor of the law'.

[11] Bougie at this time was the frontier district of the sultanate (or caliphate) of Ifrīqiya (Tunis), but frequently formed a separate principality under a rival member of the ruling dynasty. The governor Ibn Sayyid al-Nās was descended from an influential Arab family of Seville; his father was a former chamberlain of the sultan of Tunis, and he himself was a foster-brother of the reigning sultan, Abū Yaḥyā Abū Bakr (see below). Ibn Sayyid al-Nās became chamberlain in his turn in 727/1327, and after a tyrannical administration for five years was executed in 733/1332. See R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafsides*, I (Paris, 1940), 151.

[12] Or Almohads, i.e. the Ḥafṣids of Tunis; see p. 14, n. 22.

[13] Since the middle of the eleventh century Tunisia and eastern Algeria had been overrun by nomadic Arabs of Hilāl, Sulaim, and other tribes, and only behind the walls of the cities were life and property secure.

Continuing our journey, we reached the town of Qusanṭīna [Constantine] and halted outside it. We were caught by heavy rain, which forced us to leave our tents during the night for the shelter of some buildings there. Next morning the governor of the town, an eminent sharīf[14] named Abu'l-Ḥasan, came to meet us, and seeing my clothes, for they were all soiled by the rain, he gave orders that they should be washed at his house. The mantle[15] which was amongst them was in rags, so he sent me in its place a mantle of fine 19 Ba'albek cloth, in one of whose corners he had tied | two gold dīnārs. This was the first alms which was bestowed upon me on my journey.

We set out again and came next to the town of Būna [Bône]. We lodged inside the city, and after we had stopped in it for some days we left there the merchants who had been in our company, on account of the dangers of the road, and travelled light with the utmost speed, pushing on night and day without stopping.[16] I was [again] attacked by the fever, and I actually tied myself on the saddle with a turban-cloth in case I should fall off by reason of my weakness. It was impossible for me to dismount, on account of the danger. So at last we reached the town of Tunis, and the townsfolk came out to welcome the shaikh Abū 'Abdallāh az-Zubaidī and to welcome Abu'l-Ṭayyib, the son of the qāḍī Abū 'Abdullāh al-Nafzāwī. On all sides they came forward with greetings and questions to one another, but not a soul said a word of greeting to me, since there was none of them that I knew. I felt so sad at heart on account of my loneliness that I could 20 not restrain | the tears that started to my eyes, and wept bitterly. But one of the pilgrims, realizing the cause of my distress, came up to me with a greeting and friendly welcome, and continued to comfort me with friendly talk

[14] The *sharīfs* or descendants of the daughter of the prophet Muḥammad in the male line, formed a natural aristocracy of birth in Muslim society and, though they were to be found in all ranks of life, enjoyed a considerable measure of social prestige. The governor of the province of Constantine at this time was 'Abū 'Abdallāh, a son of the sultan of Tunis.

[15] *Iḥrām*, not in this instance the pilgrim garment (see p. 184, n. 106), but a kind of woollen veil or shawl worn by the Maghribins over the head and shoulders or over the shoulders only. Tlemsen was especially noted for the manufacture of such mantles in very fine wool, weighing only five ounces.

[16] The distance from Bône to Tunis is about 150 miles.

until I entered the city, where I lodged in the college of the Booksellers.[17]

Ibn Juzayy adds: My teacher, the qāḍī-in-chief and most eloquent of preachers Abu'l-Barakāt Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Sulamī (he was the man known as Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Balfīqī),[18] told me that an incident of this kind happened to him. These were his words: 'I went to the town of Ballash [Velez] in the land of al-Andalus on the eve of a festival day, for the purpose of [hearing] the recitation of the *ḥadīth*[19] handed down concerning the festival on the authority of Abū 'Abdallāh ibn al-Kamād. I went to the festival praying-ground[20] with all the people, and when the prayer and allocution were finished they all began to exchange greetings with one another, while I remained apart, without | anyone to say a word of greeting to me. Then an old man, (21) one of the inhabitants of this town, made towards me and came up to me with a greeting and friendly welcome saying: "I looked at you and saw that you were standing apart from all the others, with no one to greet you, so I knew that you were a stranger, and thought I would say a friendly word to you"—may God reward him with good!' (Resumes.)

The Sultan of Tunis.[21] The sultan of Tunis at the time of my entry was the sultan Abū Yaḥyā, son of the sultan Abū Zakarīyā Yaḥyā [II], son of the sultan Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm, son of the sultan Abū Zakarīyā Yaḥyā [I], son of 'Abd

[17] *Madrasat al-Kutubīyīn*. The *madrasa* or college, of which at this time there were large numbers in all Islamic countries, was generally a building devoted to the teaching of the religious sciences of Islam, containing a mosque and a number of lecture rooms and living apartments for teachers and students.

[18] There is an extensive biography of Abu'l-Barakāt Balfīqī (b. 1266, d. 1369) in Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Iḥāṭa*, II, 101–21; according to Ibn Ḥajar, Ibn Khaldūn regarded him as the foremost scholar of his time (*Durar*, IV, 155–7).

[19] Traditional saying attributed to the Prophet, accompanied by the chain of its relaters and transmitters through successive generations. See generally A. Guillaume, *The Traditions of Islam* (Oxford, 1924).

[20] For the two annual festival prayers, which the entire population was expected to attend, the ordinary mosque was too small, and it was customary to hold them on a special plot of ground, called the *Muṣallā*, usually outside the walls.

[21] From this point the book is supplied here and there with paragraph headings. For the significance of the title of 'sultan' see p. 3, n. 9.

al-Wāḥid, son of Abū Ḥafṣ—God's mercy on him.[22] There was at Tunis a body of notable scholars. Among them was the chief qāḍī of the town, 'Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad, son of the chief qāḍī Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad, son of Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī, of Valencia by origin, and subsequently of Tunis [by residence]; the latter
22 was known as Ibn al-Ghammāz.[23] | Others were the preacher Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusain b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Rafī' al-Rib'ī,[24] who also held the appointment of chief qāḍī under five reigns, and the jurist Abū 'Alī 'Omar b. 'Alī b. Qaddāḥ al-Hawārī; he too held the qāḍi-ship of Tunis and was one of the most eminent of scholars. It was a custom of his, every Friday after the service of the day, to seat himself with his back against one of the columns of the principal mosque, known as the mosque of the Olive,[25] while the people came to ask him to give a decision on various questions.[26] When he had stated his opinion on forty questions he ended that session.

While still at Tunis I was overtaken by the feast of the Fast-breaking and I joined the company at the *Muṣallā*.[27] The inhabitants had already assembled in large numbers to celebrate their festival and had come out in brave show and

[22] Abū Yaḥyā Abū Bakr (reigned from 1311 at Bougie and Constantine, from 1318 at Tunis; died in 1346) belonged to the fourth generation of the Ḥafṣid dynasty, an offshoot of the Almohads of Morocco, which became independent under Abū Zakarīyā I (1228–49) and continued to rule in Tunisia until the advent of the 'Barbary Corsairs' in the sixteenth century. In spite of dynastic strife, constant internal difficulties, especially with the nomad Arabs (see above, p. 11, n. 13), and warfare with both Muslim and Christian neighbours, Tunis was under their rule the chief cultural and commercial centre of north-west Africa, and the level of its culture was maintained by large settlements of Moorish refugees from Spain.

[23] He played a notable part in Tunis during the latter half of the previous century; see Brunschvig, I, 73, 74, 379.

[24] Ibn Ḥajar calls him Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan, d. 1334 (*Durar*, I, 23).

[25] *Jāmi' al-Zaitūna*, still the principal mosque and centre of higher religious education in Tunis.

[26] A *fatwā*, or considered opinion on some point of law, may be issued by any qualified jurist, but can be given executive force only by a qāḍī. On al-Qaddāḥ (d. 1336) see Brunschvig, I, 407; II, 137–9; *Durar*, III, 179.

[27] The festival following the annual fast observed during the month of Ramaḍān, known as *'Īd al-Fiṭr* or *Bairām* in the East, is always celebrated with great animation and gaiety, and it is a universal custom to put on new clothes for the occasion. For the *muṣallā* see p. 13, n. 20; the site of the former *muṣallā*, in the southern quarter of the town, is now occupied by the Caserne Saussier, built in 1835.

in their richest apparel. The sultan Abū Yaḥyā arrived on horseback, accompanied by all his relatives and courtiers and guards of his kingdom walking on foot in a magnificent procession.[28] | The prayers were recited, the allocution[29] was 23 discharged, and the people returned to their homes.

Some time later the caravan [of pilgrims] for the noble Ḥijāz was organized [and designated as] its shaikh [a man] called Abū Ya'qūb al-Sūsī, belonging to Iqlībīya,[30] one of the towns of Ifrīqiya. The greater number of the party were men of Masmūda[31] and they put me forward as qāḍī of their company. We left Tunis in the last days of the month of Dhu'l-Qa'da [beginning of November 1325], following the coast road, and came to the township of Sūsa, which is small but pretty and built on the seashore, forty miles distant from Tunis.[32] We came next to the town of Ṣafāqus [Sfax]. Outside this place there is the grave of the imām Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Lakhmī, the Mālikite jurist and author of the book called *Al-Tabṣira fi'l-Fiqh* [i.e. 'The Exposition of Jurisprudence'].[33]

[28] A detailed description of the sultan's cortège on such occasions is given by al-'Omarī; see translation by Gaudefroy-Demombynes (Paris, 1927), 113–16.

[29] The *Khuṭba* is a formal allocution at the Friday and festival prayers, in which the ruling authorities are prayed for by name, and which has in consequence acquired a distinctive political significance.

[30] This passage appears to be slightly corrupt; some word or words have been omitted, and the name of Iqlībīya (the ancient Clypea, on the south-east side of Cape Bon) appears as Iqlī.

[31] One of the main Berber stocks of Morocco, especially identified with the Almohad movement.

[32] Sūsa, the ancient Hadrumetum, has always been a place of some importance as the chief city of the fertile coastal plain called al-Sāhil, the ancient Byzacene. The present town still has its old walls. The actual distance between Sūsa and Tunis is slightly over eighty-five miles.

[33] The old town of Sfax, surrounded by a triangular wall, with the *qaṣba* or castle in the south-east angle, is still in existence, but since the French occupation the aspect of its environs has completely changed. Formerly it stood on the shore, at the apex of a wide and very shallow bay (hence called al-Qaṣīr), the waters of which came nearly up to the city wall at high tide but receded more than a thousand yards at low tide, the rise being about three feet. (At Gabes the tides, when full, may reach as much as seven or eight feet.) This phenomenon, as the following verses attest, naturally attracted attention in the generally tideless Mediterranean Sea. The harbour of Sfax consisted of a trench, called 'the Channel' (*al-khalīj* or *al-shaṭṭ*), with a wooden quay, situated about 250 yards from the south-east gate, and accessible from the sea at high tide only. The new town of Sfax is gradually being built out into the former bay, and the site of the old *khalīj* is now traversed by one of the main boulevards. The grave of Abu'l-

Ibn Juzayy adds: It is of the town of Ṣafāqus that [the poet] 'Alī b. Ḥabīb al-Tanūkhī says— |

24 [God send] refreshing rain to the land of Ṣafāqus, city of cisterns[34] and place of prayer!
His protection be on the bay [and extend] to the channel,[35] and on its lofty castle of highest fortune!
A town which seems to say when thou comest to it 'Welcome to home and ease'.
Methinks the sea, as it now slips away from it, now fills up,
Is like a lover, seeking to pay a visit, but when it sees the guardians draws back.

Precisely the opposite of these sentiments is expressed in the verses of Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Abī Tamīm, a finished man of letters, and a copious poet:

Ṣafāqus! may life not be sweet (*ṣafā*) to the dweller therein, and no rain outpouring refresh her soil!
Out on a town where he who alights in her court is assailed by both foes, the Christian and the Arab!
How many there are who wander distraught on the land,
25 despoiled of their goods! | How many who spend their nights on the sea bewailing captivity and perdition![36]
The sea itself hath beheld such villainy in her dwellers that as oft as it makes to approach her it turns back in flight.

(Resumes.) We came next to the town of Qābis [Gabes], and put up inside it. We stopped there over ten nights, on account of incessant rains.

Ibn Juzayy adds: In reference to Qābis a certain poet says:

Alas for the sweetness of long-past nights by the side of the fertile valley of Qābis!
Methinks my heart, at their memory, is a brand of fire in the hands of a brand-bearer (*qābis*).

Ḥasan al-Lakhmī (d. 1085), situated just outside the north-west wall of the old town, is still an object of veneration.

[34] As there are no springs or streams at Sfax, the town has always depended for its water supply upon storage cisterns draining the rainwater from large plastered surfaces.

[35] For the 'bay' (*al-qaṣīr*) and 'channel' (*al-khalīj*) see p. 13, n. 33.

[36] The latter reference is obviously to Christian raiders and corsairs, who continually harassed the coasts of Tunisia and Libya.

(Resumes.) We then left the town of Qābis, making for Aṭrābulus [Tripoli], and were escorted for some stages of our journey thither by about a hundred or more horsemen. There was also in the caravan a troop of archers, with the result that the roving Arabs, in fear of them, avoided their vicinity, and God preserved us | from them. We celebrated the Feast 26 of Sacrifice[37] on one of the stages of this journey, and on the fourth day following came to the city of Aṭrābulus, where we stayed for some time. I had made a contract of marriage at Ṣafāqus with the daughter of one of the syndics at Tunis, and she was conducted to me[38] at Aṭrābulus. I then left Aṭrābulus, at the end of the month of Muḥarram of the year [seven hundred and] twenty-six[39] taking my wife with me, and accompanied by a party of the men of Masmūda, for I had raised the flag and set out at their head,[40] while the main caravan remained at Aṭrābulus for fear of the cold and rain.

We passed through Mislāta, Misrāta, and Quṣūr Surt,[41] where the dromedary-men of some bands of nomad Arabs[42] sought to attack us, but eventually the Divine Will diverted them and prevented them from doing us the harm that they had intended. Our way then lay through the midst of the *ghāba*,[43] and we traversed it to the fort of the anchorite Barṣīṣ and thence to Qubbat Sallām.[44] There we were overtaken | by the body of the caravan who had stayed behind at 27

[37] Literally, 'The Feast of Sacrifice overtook us', i.e. the annual festival on 10th Dhu'l-Ḥijja, called 'Īd al-Aḍḥā (in Turkish, Qurbān Bairām), when the pilgrimage rites at Mecca are completed by the slaying of the sacrificial animals in the valley of Minā. In A.H. 725 it fell about 17 November 1325.

[38] Literally, 'I set up my tent over her', a traditional Bedouin phrase.

[39] A.H. 726 began about 8 December 1325, the end of Muḥarram would fall in the beginning of January 1326.

[40] It is not unusual for companies of pilgrims to carry a flag.

[41] Mislāta is probably the Rassamixar of the medieval portolans (= Porto Ligata); Misrāta, the modern Misurata. Surt (Cavo di Sorta in the portolans) at Ras Sulṭān (Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters*, 676–7). Already in Idrīsī's time Surt was in decay, owing to the devastations of the Arabs (*Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne par Edrisi*, ed. and tr. Dozy and de Goeje, 143–4).

[42] The reading *jamāmiza* of two MSS. means apparently riders of the swift dromedaries called *jammāza*.

[43] I.e. desert country with scattered trees and generally uninhabited.

[44] The 'fort of Barṣīṣ' is apparently a localization of a widespread legend concerning the monk Barṣīṣa (see *E.I.*, s.v.). The 'domed-chapel' of Sallām is unidentified.

Aṭrābulus, and I became involved in a dispute with my father-in-law which made it necessary for me to separate from his daughter. I then married the daughter of a *ṭālib*[45] of Fez, and when she was conducted to me at Qasr al-Za'āfiya[46] I gave a wedding feast, at which I detained the caravan for a whole day, and entertained them all.

After that, on the 1st of First Jumādā [5 April 1326], we arrived at the city of al-Iskandarīya [Alexandria], may God protect her! She is a well-guarded frontier citadel and a friendly and hospitable region, remarkable in appearance and solid of construction, furnished with all that one could wish for in the way of embellishment and embattlement, and of memorable edifices both secular and religious. Noble are her dwellings, graceful her qualities and to imposing size her buildings unite architectural perfection. She is a unique pearl of glowing opalescence, and a secluded maiden arrayed in her bridal adornments, glorious in her surpassing beauty, uniting in herself the excellences that are shared out [by other cities between themselves] through her mediating situation between the East and the West. Every | fresh marvel has there its unveiling, every novelty finds its way thither. Men have already described it and descanted at length; they have compiled volumes on its marvellous features, and exceeded all bounds; but for one who would acquire a detailed knowledge of this subject it is enough [to read] what Abū 'Ubaid [al-Bakrī] has written in *The Book of Ways*.[47]

Its gates and harbour. The city of Alexandria has four gates: the gate of the Lote-tree, and it is to it that the Maghrib road leads; the gate of Rashīd [Rosetta]; the Sea-gate; and the Green gate. This gate is opened only on Fridays,

[45] The ṭālibs or 'students' (Arabic, *ṭalaba*) formed the fourth class in the Almohad organization and retained their position under the Marīnids as salaried jurists and doctors of religion.

[46] I have not identified this place, which seems to lie east of the Jabal.

[47] This paragraph is composed throughout in the elegant rhyming style already employed in the preface, and similar rhetorical passages, due doubtless to the efforts of Ibn Juzayy to enhance the literary quality of the book, precede the description of every important city. Abū 'Ubaid al-Bakrī (1028–94), the earliest of the great geographical compilers, was a Spanish-Arab savant. His geographical work extended to several volumes, most of which have been lost.

and the people go out through it to visit the tombs.[48] It has also the magnificent port,[49] and among all the ports in the world I have seen none to equal it, except the ports of Kawlam [Quilon] and Qālīqūt [Calicut] in India, the port of the infidels [Genoese] at Sūdāq in the land of the Turks, and the port of Zaitūn in China, all of which will be mentioned later. |

The lighthouse. I went to see the lighthouse on this journey 29 and found one of its faces in ruins. One would describe it as a square building soaring into the air. Its door is high above the level of the ground, and opposite its door and of the same height is another building; wooden planks are laid from one to the other, and on these one crosses to the doorway. When they are removed there is no means of approach to it. Inside the door there is a place for the guardian of the lighthouse to sit in, and within the lighthouse itself there are many chambers. The breadth of the passage in its interior is nine spans;[50] and the breadth of the wall ten spans; the breadth of the lighthouse on each of its four faces is 140 spans. It is situated on a high mound and lies at a distance of one farsakh [three miles] from the city on a long tongue of land, encompassed on three sides by the sea up to the point where the sea is immediately adjacent to the city wall, so that the lighthouse cannot be reached by land except | from the city. On 30 this peninsula connected with the lighthouse is the cemetery of Alexandria. I visited the lighthouse [again] on my return to the Maghrib in the year 750 [1349], and found that it had fallen into so ruinous a condition that it was impossible to enter it or to climb up to the doorway.[51] Al-Malik al-

[48] The names of the four gates of Alexandria (the term 'Gate of the Lote-tree' replaced by 'West gate') were until recently preserved in the street names of the city, the gates themselves having been demolished in the nineteenth century.

[49] Both harbours of Alexandria were used at this time, see portolan of Marino Sanudo, par. 12 (Kretschmer, 241).

[50] A span is the distance between the thumb and the little finger when the hand is expanded, i.e about nine inches.

[51] The Pharos (Arabic, *manār* or *manāra*) is mentioned or described in all the Arabic geographical works: al-Qazwīnī even gives a diagram of it in *Āthar al-Bilād* (Br. Mus., Or. MS 3623, fol. 41b). The Egyptian encyclopaedist al-Qalqashandī (d. 1418) describes the Pharos from the work of the eleventh-century writer al-Quḍā'ī, and says that the famous mirror on its summit was broken by stratagem on the part of the Christians in the reign

Nāṣir[52] (God's mercy on him) had started to build a similar lighthouse alongside it, which he was prevented by death from completing.

The Pillar of Columns.[53] Another of the marvels of this city is the awe-inspiring marble column outside it, called by them the Pillar of Columns. It is in the midst of a grove of date-palms, but it stands out from amongst its trees, over-topping them in height. It is a single block, skilfully hewn, erected on a plinth of square stones like enormous platforms, and no one 31 knows how it was erected there | nor for certain who erected it.

Ibn Juzayy remarks: I have been told by one of my teachers, a much-travelled man, that a man of the corps of archers at Alexandria climbed to the top of this column, taking his bow and quiver with him, and sat himself down there. When the news of this spread, a huge crowd assembled to gaze at him. Everyone was greatly astonished at his feat and puzzled to know how he had contrived to do it. I think that he was either in fear of something or wanting to get something, and his action enabled him to attain his object, on account of the strangeness of his performance. This was the way in which he contrived to ascend the column. He shot an arrow, to the end of which he had tied a long thread, and to the end of the thread a stout rope, so that the arrow passed over the top of the column and exactly transverse to it, and fell on the side opposite to the archer. Thus the thread lay transversely across the top of the column, and he pulled on it until the middle of the rope came to the top of the column in 32 place of the thread. | He then secured the rope firmly in the ground at one end and climbed up from the other end, and having taken up his position on top pulled away the rope. He had someone with him who carried it away, so that people had nothing to guide them to his trick and were astonished by his feat.

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of al-Walīd I (705–15). He adds that the lighthouse fell gradually into decay until the middle of the eighth (fourteenth) century, when it was pulled down (*Ṣubḥ al A'shā*, III, 321–2). For a historical sketch and plan of the Pharos see E. M. Forster, *Alexandria* (Alexandria, 1922), 133 ff.

[52] See below, p. 52.

[53] On the history of 'Pompey's Pillar' (so named by the crusaders, it seems) see Forster, 145–6. Savary (*Letters on Egypt*, Eng. tr., I, letter 2, ingeniously translates *'amūd al-sawārī* as 'Pillar of Severus'.

(Resumes.) The governor of Alexandria at the time of my arrival was named Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.[54] Living there too at that time was the deposed sultan of Ifrīqiya, Zakarīyā Abū Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. Abū Ḥafṣ, known as al-Liḥyānī.[55] Al-Malik al-Nāṣir gave orders to lodge him in the palace of the sultanate at Alexandria, and assigned him a pension of a hundred dirhams a day. Along with him were his sons, 'Abd al-Wāḥid, Miṣrī, and Iskandarī, his chamberlain Abū Zakarīyā b. Ya'qūb, and his wazīr Abū 'Abdallāh b. Yāsīn. It was at Alexandria that this man al-Liḥyānī died, and his son al-Iskandarī also, while Miṣrī is still there to this day.

Ibn Juzayy remarks: It is a strange thing how close | to the truth the auguries derived from the names of the two sons of al-Liḥyānī, al-Iskandarī and Miṣrī, fell out, for al-Iskandarī died at al-Iskandarīya, while Miṣrī lived there for a long time and it is in the land of Miṣr [Egypt]. 33

(Resumes.) Abd al-Wāḥid travelled to the country of al-Andalus, and [subsequently] to the Maghrib and Ifrīqiya, and died there in the island of Jarba.

Some of the learned men of Alexandria. One of these was the qāḍī of the city, 'Imād al-Dīn al-Kindī, a master of the arts of speech, who used to wear a turban of extraordinary size. Never either in the eastern nor in the western lands have I seen a more voluminous headgear than this. I saw him one day sitting in the forepart of a prayer-niche, and his turban was not far short of filling it up completely. |

Another was Fakhr al-Dīn b. al-Rīghī, who also was one of the qāḍīs at Alexandria, and a worthy and learned man. 34

Anecdote. It is related that the grandfather of the qāḍī Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rīghī belonged to the town of Rīgha,[56] and and after devoting himself to the pursuit of learning he set out to go to the Ḥijāz. He reached Alexandria in the evening,

[54] Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Dawādār ('the Secretary') was governor of Alexandria from 25 August 1324 to 6 Feb. 1329 (Zetterstéen, 174-5, 180).

[55] Generally known as Ibn al-Liḥyānī, formerly shaikh of the Almohads, who reigned at Tunis, 1311–18 (Brunschvig, I, 128–43).

[56] Rīgha, according to Idrīsī, was a township two marches eastwards from Miliana, probably the well-known watering-place now known as Hammām Rhira. According to Yāqūt its name is derived from a Berber word *righ*, meaning 'salt-marsh'. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdal-Raḥmān, called Ibn al-Rīghī, died in 1365 (*Durar*, I, 272).

having but little in his hand; and being unwilling to enter the town until he should hear some good omen, he remained seated close to the gate until everybody had gone in, and the hour for closing the gate had arrived. There was no one left there but himself, and the keeper of the gate, annoyed at his lingering, said to him sarcastically 'Come in, O qāḍī'. 'Qāḍī, it God will' he replied and entered into one of the colleges, where he studied assiduously and followed the 'way' of the virtuous. His name and fame spread abroad, and he acquired such a reputation for asceticism and piety that at length the 35 reports about him reached the [ears of the] | king of Egypt. It happened that the qāḍī of Alexandria died, and in it at that time were a great multitude of learned jurists and theologians, all of whom aspired to the appointment, while he alone amongst them had no ambitions in this direction. Thereupon the sultan sent him the 'investiture', that is to say, the diploma of appointment as qāḍī. When the courier delivered this to him, he ordered his servant to make public proclamation that any person who had a dispute should present himself for its investigation, and he held sittings for the settling of cases between the inhabitants. The jurists and others met in the house of one of their number, whose claim to the qāḍī-ship, they had thought, could not be passed over, and discussed the possibility of inducing the sultan to reconsider al-Rīghī's appointment and of addressing a remonstrance to him to the effect that the population were dissatisfied with al-Rīghī. There was present at this meeting, however, an astrologer, a man of great perspicacity, who said to them: 'Do not do that, 36 for I have cast the horoscope of his appointment | and taken pains to assure myself of it, and it has appeared to me that he will hold judicial office for forty years.' So they gave up their idea of having his case reconsidered, and his fortunes were as the astrologer had foreseen, and he was noted during the tenure of the qāḍī-ship for even justice and purity of character.

Others of the scholars at Alexandria were Wajīh al-Dīn al-Ṣanhājī, one of the qāḍīs of the town, celebrated for his learning and personal worth, and Shams al-Dīn, son of Bint al-Tinnīsī, a worthy man of wide reputation.

Amongst the devotees there was the shaikh Abū 'Abdallāh al-Fāsī, who was one of the greatest of God's saints. It is said

that he used to hear the word of peace returned to him when he gave it at the conclusion of his ritual prayers.[57] Another was the learned, self-denying, humble and pious Imām, Khalīfa, to whom ecstatic revelations were granted.[58]

A miracle[59] *of his.* I was told by a trustworthy person, one of his associates, that the shaikh | Khalīfa saw the Prophet of 37 of God (upon him be God's blessing and peace) in his sleep. The Prophet said to him: 'O Khalīfa, visit us.' So he journeyed to al-Madīna the Noble, and having come to the illustrious mosque he entered by the Gate of Peace, saluted the mosque, and gave the word of peace to [the tomb of] the Prophet of God. He then sat down with his back against one of the columns of the mosque and placed his head upon his knees, in the posture which is termed *al-tazyīq*[60] amongst the adepts of Sufism. When at length he raised his head, he found [before him] four loaves, some jugs of milk, and a plate of dates. He and his companions ate, and he set out to return to Alexandria without making the pilgrimage that year.

Another of them was the learned, self-denying, pious and humble imām Burhān al-Dīn the Lame, one of the greatest of ascetics and a devotee of outstanding personality. I met him during my stay in Alexandria and I spent three days as his guest. |

A miracle of his. One day, when I had entered his room, he 38 said to me: 'I see that you are fond of travelling and wandering from land to land'. 'Yes', I replied, 'I am fond of it', although there had not as yet entered my mind any thought of penetrating to such distant lands as India and China. Then he said: 'You must certainly, if God will, visit my brother[61] Farīd al-Dīn in India, and my brother Rukn

[57] The ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*) ends with the invocation *as-salāmu 'alaikum*, which is generally regarded as addressed to the believer's guardian angels.

[58] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa selects for mention chiefly North African scholars and devotees, most of whom are not otherwise known. Khalīfa b. 'Aṭīya, d. 1334, was noted as a Mālikite scholar and teacher (*Durar*, II 94).

[59] A *karāma* is 'a personal distinction granted by God to a saint', as distinct from the probative miracle, *mu'jiza*, of a prophet.

[60] The text has *al-tarfīq*, which has been corrected by Dozy, *Suppl. aux dictionnaires arabes*, s.v.

[61] I.e. brother by spiritual affiliation, as the term usually signifies in the language of the saints and mystics.

al-Dīn Zakarīyā in Sind, and my brother Burhān al-Dīn in China, and when you reach them convey to them a greeting from me.' I was amazed at his prediction, and the idea of going to these countries having been cast into my mind, my wanderings never ceased until I had met these three that he named and conveyed his greeting to them. When I bade him farewell, he gave me some coins as a travelling provision. I kept them as a treasured possession, and never afterwards had need to spend them, until the infidel Indians took them from me at sea with all the other things of which they stripped me.

Another of the religious at Alexandria was the shaikh 39 Yāqūt | al-Ḥabashī ('the Ethiopian'), a man of outstanding gifts, who had been the pupil of Abu'l-'Abbās of Murcia, who in his turn was the pupil of the famous saint Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī,[62] noted for his great miracles and his high degrees of mystical attainment.

A miracle of Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī. The shaikh Yāqūt informed me on the authority of his shaikh, Abu'l-'Abbās al-Mursī, that Abu'l-Ḥasan used to go on pilgrimage every year. His custom was to make his way there through Upper Egypt, stay at Mecca, fasting and engaging in pious exercises, during the month of Rajab[63] and the following months until the close of the Pilgrimage, visit the Holy Tomb [of Muḥammad at al-Madīna], and return by the main pilgrim road to to the town where he resided. One year, however (it was the last year in which he set out), he said to his attendant 'Take with you a pickaxe, a basket, aromatics for embalming, and all that is necessary for burying the dead'. The servant said | 40 to him 'Why so, O my master?', and he replied 'In Ḥumai-

[62] Al-Shādhilī as founder of one of the greater religious brotherhoods of Islam, the Shādhilīya, is one of the important figures in medieval mysticism. He was of Moroccan origin and initiation, but political hostility to his activities drove him to Alexandria where he remained, the centre of a great popular movement, until his death in 656/1258. On the Shādhilīya brotherhood, see Depont and Coppolani, *Les Confréries religieuses musulmanes* (Algiers, 1897), 443 ff. Yāqūt al-Ḥabashī, 'noted for his mystical attainments and miracles', died 17 March 1332; his tomb is still venerated at Alexandria in the mosque known as Sīdī Yāqūt al-'Arshī, which is close to the tomb mosque of his teacher Abu'l-'Abbās al-Mursī (d. 1287): Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, IX, 295 and note.

[63] The seventh month of the Muhammadan year (see p. 8, n. 1), the pilgrimage being in Dhu'l-Ḥijja, the twelfth month.

thirā you shall see'. Now Ḥumaithirā is in the region of Upper Egypt, in the desert of 'Aidhāb, and there is a well of brackish water there and a great many hyenas.[64] When they reached Ḥumaithirā, the shaikh Abu'l-Ḥasan made a complete ablution, and said a prayer of two prostrations. At the final prostration in his prayers God (Great and Mighty is He) took him and he was buried there. I have visited his tomb; there is a tombstone over it, upon which is inscribed his name and his lineage back to al-Ḥasan the son of 'Alī (on him be peace).

The Litany of the Sea attributed to al-Shādhilī.[65] He made a journey every year, as we have just said, through Upper Egypt and across the sea of Judda [Red Sea], and when he was on board ship he used to recite this litany every day. His disciples still recite it every day, and it runs | as 41 follows:

O God, O Exalted, O Mighty, O Forbearing, O All-knowing, Thou art my Lord and Thy knowledge is my sufficiency.[66] How excellent a lord is my Lord, how excellent a sufficiency my sufficiency. Thou aidest whom Thou wilt, for Thou art the Powerful, the Compassionate. We pray Thee to guard us from sin in our movements and stillnesses, our words and designs, and in the stirring of doubts, of unworthy suggestions and of vain imaginings, that veil from our hearts the perception of things unseen. Verily *the Believers have been tried and grievously shaken, and when the time-servers and the sick-hearted say 'The promises of God and His Apostle to us are naught but delusion'*, do Thou establish us and succour us, and subject to us this sea as Thou didst subject the sea unto Moses, and as Thou didst subject the fire to Abraham, and as Thou didst subject the mountains and the iron to David, and

[64] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa here speaks from personal experience; see below, p. 68.

[65] The *ḥizb al-baḥr* or Litany of the Sea' which follows is the most celebrated of all such devotional exercises. Even as late as the middle of last century it is referred to and summarily translated by Burton in describing his crossing of the Red Sea. 'Or, if we see the prospect of a storm or calm, we draw forth and piously peruse a "Hizb al-Bahr". As this prayer is supposed to make all safe upon the ocean wave, I will not selfishly withhold it from the British reader.' It is to be feared, however, that perusal, let alone translation or précis, must lack the virtue of perfected recitation.

[66] The litany is full of Qur'ānic reminiscences; direct quotations from the Qur'ān are printed in italic type.

as Thou didst subject the wind and the demons and the jinn to Solomon.[67] Subject to us every sea that is Thine on earth and in heaven, in the world of sense and in the invisible world, the sea of this life and the sea of the life to come. 42 Subject to us everything, O | Thou in Whose Hand is the rule over all. *Kāf-Hā-Yā-'Ain-Ṣad.*[68] Succour us, for Thou art *the best of those that succour*; hear our prayers, for *Thou art the best of those that open the way*; forgive us our sins, for *Thou art the best of pardoners*; show mercy upon us, for *Thou art the best of those that show mercy*; give us our daily bread, for *Thou art the best of sustainers. Guide us*, and *deliver us from the hand of the evildoers*, and grant us *a fair wind* according to Thy knowledge; waft it upon us from *the treasures of Thy Mercy*, and carry us thereon with conveyance of Thy favour, [granting us] therewith preservation from sin and wellbeing in our spiritual and our material life and in the life to come; *verily Thou art disposer of all things*. O God, *smooth for us* our affairs; give peace to our hearts and our bodies, and grant us health and wellbeing in our spiritual and our material life. Be Thou our Companion in our journey, and Guardian of our households in our absence. Blot out the faces of our enemies, and 43 transform them into vile creatures in | the place where they be; then shall they not be able to go nor to come against us. *If We will, We shall blot out their sight, and they shall hasten one with another to the Bridge;*[69] *how then shall they perceive? If We will, We shall transform them in their place and they shall not be able to go forth nor shall they return. Yā-Sīn. Faces shall be deformed. 'Ain-Mīm. Faces shall be humbled before the Living, the Self-Subsistent, and frustrated is he who bears a burden of wrong-doing. Tā-Sīn. Hā-Mīm. 'Ain-Sīn-Qāf. He hath let loose the two seas that meet together, between them is a barrier, they cannot pass. Ḥā-Mīm* (seven times). The matter is decreed, *Divine aid is at hand*, against us *they shall not be*

[67] Allusions to various Qur'ānic passages which relate the deliverance of Abraham from a fire, the instruction of David in the art of metalworking, and the labours of the demons (*shaiṭāns*) and jinn in building and other works for Solomon.

[68] The initial letters of Sūra xix, to which a supernatural power was ascribed, like the initial letters of other sūras which follow later.

[69] The *Ṣirāṭ*, in the later acceptation of the Bridge over Hell, familiar to English readers from Addison's *Vision of Mirza*.

victorious. Ḥā-Mīm. The revelation of the Book is from God, the Mighty, the All-knowing, Who pardoneth sin and accepteth repentance, Whose chastisement is heavy, the Long-suffering; there is no god but He, to Him is the way [of all flesh]. *In the name of God* is our door, | *Blessed is He* is our walls, *Yā-Sīn* is 44 our roof, *Kāf-Hā-Yā-'Ain-Ṣad* is our sufficiency, *Ḥā-Mīm 'Ain-Sīn-Qāf* is our defence. And *God will suffice thee against them, for He is the Hearing, the Knowing*. The curtain of the Throne is extended over us, the Eye of God is watching us, in the Might of God none can harm us. *God is behind them, encompassing! Nay, it is a glorious Qur'ān in a Preserved Tablet.* God is the best in keeping, and *He is the most Merciful of them that show mercy. Verily my patron is God, who hath sent down the Book, and He upholdeth the cause of the righteous. My sufficiency is God, other than He there is no god; upon Him have I put my trust and He is the Lord of the Glorious Throne. In the Name of God*, with Whose Name nothing that is on earth or in heaven shall suffer harm, *and He is the Hearing, the Knowing. Each one has attendant angels before him, watching over him at the command of God.* 'There is no Power nor Might save in God, the High, the Great.' |

Anecdote. The following incident occurred in the city of 45 Alexandria in the year 27 [1327], and we received the report of it at Mecca (God ennoble her!).[70]

A quarrel broke out between the Muslims and the Christian traders. The chief of police in Alexandria was a man called al-Karakī, and he adopted the policy of protecting the Europeans. He gave orders to the Muslims to assemble between the two outer walls protecting the gate of the city, and he shut them out of the city as a penalty for their action. The population disapproved of this and thought it monstrous; they broke down the gate and made a riotous assault on the governor's dwelling. He protected himself against them and

[70] The incident is mentioned in all the Arabic chronicles of the time (al-Yāfi'ī, al-'Umarī, etc.). The action taken by the Egyptian authorities on this occasion to protect the merchants is probably to be connected with the efforts of the Papacy at this time to stop trade with Egypt (see Heyd, *Commerce du Levant*, II, 43). Mughulṭay al-Jamālī (d. 1330) was Ustādār (Master of the Household) and vizier at this time; Ṭughān al-Shamsī (d. 1340) was chief intendant of finances; the reputation given him by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa is confirmed in the biographical notices. I have not identified al-Karakī or Ibn Rawāḥa.

fought with them from the roof, at the same time despatching pigeons with the news to al-Malik al-Nāṣir. The sultan sent an amīr named al-Jamālī and followed him up by another amīr known as Ṭūghān, a stony-hearted tyrant and suspect in his religion—it was said that he used to worship the sun. These 46 two entered | Alexandria, arrested the notables among the civil population and the principal merchants of the city, such as the family of al-Kūbak and others, and took large sums of money from them. 'Imād al-Dīn the qāḍī had an iron shackle to which his hands were attached put on his neck. Subsequently the two amīrs put to death thirty-six of the men of the city, and had each man cut in two and the bodies placed on crosses in two rows. This was done on a Friday; the population, going out as usual after the [midday] prayer to visit the cemetery, found their executed fellow-citizens hanging there, and were greatly distressed and their sorrows redoubled.

Amongst the number of those who were crucified was a merchant of substantial fortune known as Ibn Rawāḥa. He had a hall fitted out as an armoury, and at any time of alarm or of fighting he equipped from his store a hundred or two hundred men with what weapons they required. In this city there are halls of this kind possessed by many of the inhabitants.[71] Ibn Rawāḥa, letting his tongue run away with him, said to the two amīrs, 'I shall guarantee [the main-47 tenance of order in] this city; | at any time that disorder breaks out in it, let me be given the responsibility for dealing with it, and I shall spare the Sultan the pay of the regular horsemen and footsoldiers'. The two amīrs, however, were angered by his remark, and saying 'What you are really aiming at is rebellion against the Sultan' they put him to death, whereas his object (God's mercy upon him) was only to show his loyalty and fidelity to the Sultan. But it was through that that he came to his death.

During my stay at Alexandria I heard tell of the pious shaikh Abū 'Abdallāh al-Murshidī, who lived a life of devotion in retirement from the world, and bestowed gifts from the

[71] The contemporary al-'Umarī mentions the lofty houses of Alexandria, which were strongly built with high walls 'for fear of Frankish raiders and Arab marauders'.

divine store,[72] for he was indeed one of the great saints who enjoy the vision of the unseen. I was told that he was living in solitary retreat at the village of Munyat Banī Murshid. He had a hermitage there in which he lived alone, with neither servant nor companion. He was sought by the amīrs and ministers of state, and parties of men in all ranks of life used to visit him every day, and he would serve them all with food. Every man of them would express his desire to eat some flesh or fruit or sweetmeat at his cell, and to everyone he would bring | what he had desired, though that was often out of 48 season. Doctors of the law used to come to him to ask for appointment to office, and he gave appointments or dismissed from office. All these stories were carried from mouth to mouth far and wide, and al-Malik al-Nāṣir too had visited him several times in his retreat.

I set out then from the city of Alexandria to seek this shaikh (God profit us by him), and came to the village of Tarawja,[73] which is a half-day's journey from Alexandria. It is a large village, having a qāḍī, a chief of police, and a financial inspector, and its people are hospitable and courteous. I enjoyed the company of its qāḍī Ṣafī al-Dīn, its preacher Fakhr al-Dīn, and a worthy resident of the place named Mubārak and addressed as Zain al-Dīn. I lodged in the village with a worthy man, zealous in his religious devotions, and highly esteemed, named 'Abd al-Wahhāb. The local financial inspector | Zain al-Dīn ibn al-Wa'iẓ entertained me and 49 questioned me about my native town and its taxation. When I told him that it amounted to about twelve thousand gold dinars, he was astonished and said to me 'What do you think of this village, for its taxation yields seventy-two thousand gold dinars?' The reason why the revenues of the land of Egypt are so large is that all the landed estates belong to the Treasury.[74]

[72] It was believed that saints of special merit were sometimes permitted to draw upon the divine resources of creation to supply their needs. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Murshidī (d. 1337) is the subject of a lengthy biographical notice by Ibn Ḥajar (*Durar*, III, 462–4), which confirms from a number of sources the reputation which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa gives him in this passage.

[73] Now Kom Torouga.

[74] The treasury fixed the contributions of all villages and townships on the basis of periodic cadastral surveys (the latest of which had been carried out

I went on from this village and reached the town of Damanhūr, which is a big town, yielding large revenues and possessed of remarkable attractions, the metropolis of the entire district of al-Buḥaira[75] and pole upon which the axis of its affairs revolves. Its qāḍī at this time was Fakhr al-Dīn ibn Miskīn, a Shāfi'ite jurist, who was [subsequently] appointed to the qāḍī-ship of Alexandria, when 'Imād al-Dīn al-Kindī was divested of it on account of the disturbance the story of which we have related above. I heard from a trust-50 worthy source | that Ibn Miskīn gave twenty-five thousand dirhams, which, exchanged into gold dinars, is equal to a thousand dinars,[76] for the appointment to the qāḍī-ship of Alexandria.

We then travelled to the town of Fawwā.[77] This town has an attractive appearance, and is as fair as it looks; it has a great many orchards and a remarkable supply of valuable products. In it is the grave of the saintly shaikh Abu'l-Najāh, of celebrated name, the seer of that country.

The retreat[78] of the shaikh Abū 'Abdallāh al-Murshidī, whom I had come to visit, lies close by the town and separated from it by a canal. On reaching the town I passed through it, and arriving at the cell of this shaikh before the hour of afternoon prayer, I saluted him. I found with him the amīr Saif al-Dīn Yalmalak, one of the officers of the *Khāṣṣikīya* [the sultan's bodyguard]. His name begins with *yal-*51 and the following *m* and *l* are both pronounced with an *a*; | the

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in 1316), and the 'fiefs' allotted to military feudatories consisted only of the revenues accruing from specified districts, without carrying any rights of property in the land. The revenues of Tarawja were allotted to the private treasury of the sultan (Ibn Duqmāq, V, 105).

[75] The province forming the north-west portion of the Delta, the name of which ('the Lake'), derived from Lake Mareotis, is still in use at the present day. Here and frequently a few phrases in rhetorical rhyming prose introduce the description of the town.

[76] Properly 1,250, at the ordinary rate of exchange of 20 dirhams to the dinar.

[77] Generally read and pronounced Fuwwa, on the Rosetta branch of the Nile, sixteen miles south-east of Rosetta, of which at one time it was a commercial rival.

[78] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa uses the North African term *zāwiya*, which, from its original meaning of 'corner', had come to mean cell and then 'place of retreat of religious and ascetics', finally, like the eastern *ribāṭ* and *khāngāh*, a convent or monastic seminary.

people call him 'almalik' ['the king'] but they are wrong.[79] This amīr had encamped with his troops outside the cell. When I entered the shaikh's presence (God's mercy upon him) he rose to meet me, embraced me, and calling for food invited me to eat. He was dressed in a black woollen tunic. When the hour of the afternoon prayer arrived, he set me in front as prayer-leader (*imām*), and did the same on every occasion when I was at his cell at the times of prayer during my stay with him. When I prepared to sleep, he said to me 'Go up to the roof of the cell and sleep there', for this was during the summer heats. I said to the amīr 'In the name of God'[80] but he replied 'There is none of us but has an appointed place'[81] So I ascended to the roof and found there a straw mattress and a leather mat, vessels for ritual ablutions, a jar of water and a drinking-cup, and I lay down there to sleep.

A miracle of this shaikh. That night, as I was sleeping on the roof of the cell, | I dreamed that I was on the wing of a huge bird which flew with me in the direction of the *qibla*,[82] then made towards the Yaman, then eastwards, then went towards the south, and finally made a long flight towards the east, alighted in some dark and greenish country, and left me there. I was astonished at this dream and said to myself, 'If the shaikh shows me that he knows of my dream, he is all that they say that he is'. When I rose in the morning for the dawn prayer, he bade me go in front to direct it as *imām*, after which the amīr Yalmalak came to him, bade him farewell, and went on his way. All the other visitors who were there also took leave of him and departed, after he had furnished them with a travelling-provision of small cakes. Later on, when I had prayed the forenoon prayer,[83] he called

[79] Despite Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's assertion, the historical sources and inscriptions show his name as Almalik or Almalik: see Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*. I, 411, and L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry* (Oxford, 1933), 59–62 Mayer's doubts (p 60, n. 1) whether the same person is meant seem to be unfounded. Almalik died under arrest in 1346.

[80] Apparently a polite manner of deprecating the preference shown by the shaikh to himself.

[81] Qur'ān, xxxvii, 164.

[82] I e. towards Mecca the Ka'ba of which forms the *qibla* or 'direction' towards which all Muslims face in their prayers.

[83] One of the supererogatory prayers (over and above the five prescribed daily for every believer), performed in the morning, about an hour before noon.

me and revealed to me his knowledge of my dream. So I related it to him and he said: 'You shall make the Pilgrimage [to Mecca] and visit [the tomb of] the Prophet [at al-Madīna], and you shall travel through the lands of al-Yaman and al-'Irāq, the land of the Turks, and the land of India. You will 53 stay there for a long time | and you will meet there my brother Dilshād the Indian, who will rescue you from a danger into which you will fall.' He then gave me a travelling-provision of some small cakes and silver coins, and I bade him farewell and departed. Never since parting from him have I met on my journeys aught but good fortune, and his blessed powers have stood me in good stead; besides, I have never met his equal amongst all whom I have seen, except the saint Sīdī Muḥammad al-Mūlah[84] in the land of India.

We rode after that to the town of al-Naḥrārīya,[85] a place of wide extent and recent construction, the bazaars of which are a fine sight. Its amīr was a man of high rank, named al-Sa'dī; his son was in the service of the king of India, and we shall speak of him later. Its qāḍī was Ṣadr al-Din Sulaimān al-Mālikī, one of the leading jurists of the Mālikī school. He travelled to al-'Irāq as an ambassador from al-Malik al-Nāṣir,[86] and was [subsequently] appointed to the qāḍī-ship of the towns belonging to the province of al-Gharbīya. He has a beautiful appearance and a fine figure. Its preacher was | 54 Sharaf al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī, a saintly man.

From there I rode to the town of Abyār, a place of ancient construction and fragrant environment, with many mosques and of exceeding beauty. It is in the vicinity of al-Nahrārīya, and separated from it by the Nile.[87] At Abyār are manu-

[84] *Al-mūlah* ('the God-intoxicated') was sometimes used as a term = *walī*, 'saint'. But neither of the two shaikhs named Muḥammad whom the traveller mentions in his account of India seems to correspond to the person mentioned here.

[85] Situated opposite Abyār (see below, n. 87). Ibn Duqmāq (V, 86), who calls it al-Naḥrīrīyah, speaks of it as a large town with fine markets, covered bazaars and hostelries, and refers to its wealthy merchants.

[86] This embassy was sent in 1304, in return for an embassy despatched to the Sultan of Egypt by the Mongol Ilkhān of Persia and Iraq, Uljaitu Kharbanda, on his accession. Ṣadr al-Dīn Sulaimān b. Ibrāhīm b. Sulaimān (d. 1334) was the butt of the Egyptian wits for the length of his beard (*Durar*, II, 140; III, 346).

[87] Now Ibyār or Ebyār, a short distance north of Kafr az-Zaiyāt, on the Thermutiac branch of the Nile. Ibn Duqmāq (V, 99) after mentioning its

factured fine cloths, which fetch a high price in Syria, al-'Irāq, Cairo and elsewhere, but it is an odd thing that by the people of al-Naḥrārīya, which is so close to Abyār, the cloths which are manufactured there are thought nothing of and disliked. I met at Abyār the qāḍī of the town, 'Izz al-Dīn al-Malīḥī al-Shāfi'ī, a man of kindly nature and greatly esteemed.

I was present with him once on the day of the Cavalcade. This is the name which they give to the day of observing the new moon of [the month of] Ramaḍān. The custom they observe on this occasion is as follows. The scholars (*fuqahā*) | and [33] men of note in the town assemble at the qāḍī's house after the afternoon prayer on the twenty-ninth of the month of Sha'bān.[88] The *naqīb* of the turban-wearers,[89] richly dressed and in fine array, stands at the door. As each scholar or notable arrives this functionary meets him and ushers him in with the words 'In the name of God! Our Master So-and-so al-Dīn'. The qāḍī and those present with him, on hearing this, rise for the newcomer, while the *naqīb* guides him to his seat in a place befitting his rank. When they are fully assembled there, the qāḍī mounts, and all those with him mount too [and ride off in procession] followed by the entire population of the town, men, women and children. They make their way to an eminence outside the town, called by them the 'Observatory of the Crescent Moon', this place having previously been furnished with carpets and rugs, and there the qāḍī and

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bazaars, resident merchants, etc., also speaks of its fine textiles and says that its linen cloaks fetch over 100 dirhams.

[88] This is the first clear case of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's artificial method of compilation, in which he represents all the journeys which he carried out through one country on different occasions as having been made on his first visit. Altogether he travelled between Alexandria and Cairo some three or four times, and it must have been on one of these later occasions that he visited Abyār and most, if not all, of the following towns. It was certainly not in 726 (1326), since by the 29th of Sha'bān (31 July) of that year, as he states later (see below, p. 71), he had already been to Cairo, gone through Upper Egypt to 'Aidhāb, returned thence to Cairo, and was on his way to Damascus, which he reached on 9th Ramaḍān (9 August).

[89] In the guild organizations the *naqīb* was the superintendent or head of each guild; on the *naqīb al-ashrāf* see below, p. 258. The Turban-wearers (*muta'amminīn*) or men of learning were also organized as a guild, but the term *naqīb* seems to be used here (as later in the description of the palace ceremonial at Delhi) not in the sense of superintendent (who in this guild was called *ra'īs*), but in that of 'usher' or 'roll-keeper'.

his cortège alight and observe the crescent moon. This done, they return to the town after the sunset prayer, preceded by 56 candles, torches, and folding lanterns.[90] | The shopkeepers put lighted candles in their stalls, and the people accompany the qāḍī to his residence before dispersing. This custom they carry out every year.

I went next to the town of al-Maḥalla al-Kabīra,[91] a place of great importance and impressive buildings, with a large population whose community combines all agreeable qualities. This town has a chief qāḍī and a governor-general. The chief qāḍī, who was 'Izz al-Din Ibn Khaṭīb al-Ushmunain,[92] was lying on a bed of sickness when I arrived there, in an orchard which he possessed at a distance of two farsakhs[93] from the town. I set out to visit him in the company of his substitute, the jurist Abu'l-Qāsim b. Bannūn al-Mālikī of Tunis, and Sharaf al-Dīn al-Damīrī, the qāḍī of Maḥallat Manūf.[94] We spent a day with him. I heard from him, when the conversation turned to the subject of religious ascetics, that at a day's journey from al-Maḥalla al-Mabīra was the district of al-Burlus and Nastaraw,[95] which was the land of the ascetics, 57 and where | the tomb of shaikh Marzūq, one of those who enjoyed ecstatic visions, was to be found.[96] I set out therefore to visit the district, and stopped at the hermitage (*zāwiya*) of the shaikh just mentioned. That district abounds in date palms and fruit-trees, in sea fowl, and the fish known as

[90] The *fānūs* or folding lantern is described by Lane as 'composed of waxed cloth strained over rings of wire, and a top and bottom of tinned copper'.

[91] Now al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā, the capital of the province of Gharbīya, a well-known and prosperous town, at this time one of the chief centres of the textile trade.

[92] 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Aḥmad b. 'Othmān al-Hakkārī, d. 1327 (*Durar*, II, 368).

[93] The Arabic *farsakh*, derived intermediately from the old Persian *parasang*, is defined as 12,000 ells = 5762.8 metres, but must have varied considerably in practice.

[94] A small town a few miles to the north of Ṭanta.

[95] Burlus or Burullus is the name given to the tongue of land between Lake Burullus and the sea, east of the opening known as the Sebennytic mouth; Nastaraw (in Ibn Duqmāq (V, 113) Nastarāwa) was that of the similar peninsula to the east of Rosetta and west of the Sebennytic mouth, and in medieval Arabic gave its name to the Rosetta or Bolbitic mouth. The town of Nastarāwa is described by Ibn Duqmāq as lying between the sea and the lake, half a day's journey from the Nile.

[96] Not identified.

al-būrī.[97] Their town is called Malṭīn;[98] it is situated on the shore of the lake formed by the junction of the water of the Nile and the water of the sea, known as the Lake of Tinnīs,[99] and Nastaraw is not far from it. I stopped in the latter place at the hermitage of Shaikh Shams ad-Dīn al-Falawī, one of the religious. Tinnīs was formerly a great and famous town, but it is now in ruins.[100]

Ibn Juzayy remarks: From this town of Tinnīs is derived the designation of the celebrated poet Abu'l-Fatḥ ibn Waqī' [al-Tinnīsī], who was the author of these lines on its channel:

> Rise, bear me the cup, for the strait is in tumult, and the gale sets astreaming the locks of the rushes; |
> How like, as they bend in the wind's caresses, to a lover who dons a silk-tasselled turban, 58
> And the sky is clothed in a musky mantle which the lightnings have broidered in thread of gold.

Al-Burlus is sometimes spelt al-Burullus, and by Abū Bakr ibn Nuqṭa al-Barallus. It is on the sea-coast, and a strange event which happened in it is related by Abū 'Abdallāh al-Rāzī, who had it from his father. The qāḍī of al-Burlus, who was a pious man, went out one night to the Nile, and while he performed his ablution with scrupulous care and prayed whatever it was he might be praying,[101] he heard someone saying:

[97] The name of this fish, a species of mullet, is derived from the medieval town of Būra, on the coast to the north-west of Damietta. It is from the būrī that the Italian caviare (*bottargo*) is obtained: see also below, p. 37, n. 104.

[98] In error for Balṭīm, which is still the administrative centre of the *ma'mūrīya* of al-Burullus.

[99] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has evidently confused Lake Burullus with the Lake of Tinnīs (Lake Menzālah).

[100] Tinnīs, the memory of which is preserved in the site of Tell Tenīs in an island in Lake Menzālah, the ancient Tanis and biblical Zoan, was in the tenth and eleventh centuries the chief seat of the weaving industry in Egypt and noted for the unsurpassed fineness of its textiles (referred to in the following verses). It suffered severely during the crusades (when it was repeatedly sacked), but the financial exactions upon those engaged in the industry, which was a government monopoly, were probably the decisive factor in its ruin. The town was finally destroyed by al-Malik al-Kāmil in 1227 as a precaution against the threatened Crusade of Frederick II.

[101] Literally, 'What God willed that he should pray'.

Save for your men who fast from day to day,
And those who watch their dues of prayer to pay,
Your earth at morn would quake beneath your feet,
For evil folk are ye and heedless aye. |

59 The qāḍī said: 'I cut short my prayer and cast my eyes around me, but I saw no one and heard not a sound, so I realized that it was a messenger of reproof sent from God Most High.'

(Resumes.) I travelled next through a sandy region to the city of Dimyāṭ [Damietta]. It is a city of spacious quarters and with a diversity of fruits, admirably laid out, and enjoying a share of every good thing. Its name is generally written as Dhimyāṭ, and it is so spelled by the *imām* Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī al-Rushāṭī. But the learned *imām* Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mu'min b. Khalaf al-Dimyāṭī, the doyen of the Traditionalists,[102] used to spell it with a plain D, and follow that up by contradicting al-Rushāṭī and others, and he knows best the way to spell the name of his own town. The city of Dimyāṭ lies on the bank of the Nile, and the people in the houses next to the river draw 60 water from it | in buckets. Many of the houses have steps leading down to the Nile.[103] Banana trees are especially abundant there, and their fruit is carried to Cairo in boats. Its sheep and goats are allowed to pasture at liberty day and night, and for this reason the saying goes of Dimyāṭ, 'Its wall is a sweetmeat and its dogs are sheep'. No one who enters the city may afterwards leave it except by the governor's seal. Persons of repute have a seal stamped on a piece of paper, which they show to the gatekeepers; other persons have the seal stamped on their forearms and must show that.

Sea-fowl [are sold] in this city in large quantities and are exceedingly fat; in it there are to be had also various preparations of buffalo milk, which are unequalled for sweetness

[102] 1217–1306; he was reputed to have heard traditions from 1250 scholars (*Durar*, II, 417).

[103] After the second capture of Damietta by the crusaders in the Crusade of St. Louis (1249–50) the old city was destroyed, as noted below, and a new city built on a safer site further inland. It continued to be strongly guarded and a naval base was maintained there by the Mamlūk sultans. It was for this reason that the restrictions on movement described below were enforced. I have found no explanation of the saying which follows about its wall.

and delicious taste, and the fish called *al-būrī*,[104] which is exported from there to Syria, Anatolia, and Cairo. Outside the town there is an island lying between the sea and the river, called al-Barzakh.[105] On this island there is a mosque | and a hermitage, in which I met its shaikh, known as Ibn 61 Qufl, and I spent the night preceding a Friday in his company. With him were a number of pious poor brethren,[106] devoted to the religious life and of excellent character, who passed the night in prayers, recitation of the Qur'ān, and liturgical exercises.

The present town of Dimyāṭ is of recent construction; the old city was that destroyed by the Franks in the time of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ.[107] In it is the hermitage of Shaikh Jamāl al-Dīn al-Sāwī, who set the example which is followed by the group known as the Qarandarīya;[108] these are the persons who shave off their beards and eyebrows. At this time there was living in the hermitage the Shaikh Fat'ḥ al-Takrūrī.

Anecdote. It is said that the reason which led Shaikh Jamāl al-Dīn al-Sāwī to shave off his beard and eyebrows was this.

[104] See p. 35, n. 97 above. 'The Bourri or mullet, is the most beneficial of all to the fishermen [of Lake Menzalah], who open the females and take out the roe, of which they make boutargue by salting [and drying it in the sun], and vend it through all Egypt. The various outlets of the lake to the Nile and Mediterranean being full of islands, rushes, insects, and herbs, the river and sea-fish swarm and multiply here infinitely; supplying two thousand fishermen, and clouds of birds, without apparent diminution. . . . The waters of the lake are covered with wild geese, ducks, teal, divers, and the ibis. . . . Far as the eye can reach they cover its surface': Savary, *Letters on Egypt*, Eng. trans., I, 334-6.

[105] Literally, 'the Isthmus'. This island had a tower from which chains extended across the river on either side to prevent the passage of raiding vessels.

[106] Arabic *faqīr*, plural *fuqarā'*; one who has devoted himself to the life of poverty and dependence upon God, is the term (corresponding to the Persian *darwīsh*) applied to the religious mendicant, whether living in a monastery (*ribāṭ*, *khānqāh*, *zāwiya*), or, as was more usual, wandering from place to place.

[107] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa is in error here; the old city was razed by the Mamlūk sultan Aibek after the Crusade of St. Louis, to prevent its recapture by the Franks. The old city was on the site of the modern village of Esba.

[108] These are the wandering darwīshes, without organization or rite, and antinomian in doctrine and practice, known generally as the Calendars (Qalandarīya): see *E.I.*, s.v. Kalandariyya, and M. T Titus, *Indian Islam* (Oxford, 1930), 129. Jamāl ad-Dīn al-Sāwī or al-Sāwaqī (i.e. of Sāveh, see next note) studied in Damascus between 1210 and 1225 and from there removed to Damietta.

62 He was a man of fine figure and handsome | face, and a woman belonging to Sāwa[109] conceived a passion for him, and made a habit of sending him letters, of intercepting him in the streets, and inviting him to fulfil her desires. He for his part rejected all her advances with scorn. When she was baffled by his refusals, she tricked him by sending an old woman who posted herself with a sealed letter in her hand outside a certain house on his way to the mosque. As he passed by her, she said to him 'Sir, can you read?' He said 'Yes'. 'This letter', she told him, 'has reached me from my son; I wish you would read it to me.' He consented, but when he opened the letter she said to him: 'Sir, my son has a wife, and she is in the vestibule of the house. Would you be so kind as to read it between the outer and inner doors of the house, so that she may hear it?' He agreed to do as she asked, and when he was between the two doors the old woman locked the outer door, and the woman herself came out with her 63 attendants. They seized | him and carried him into the inner apartments, where the woman tried to seduce him.[110] When he saw that there was no way out for him, he said 'I shall do as you wish, so show me the closet', and she showed it to him. He took water in with him, and as he had in his possession a sharp razor, he shaved off his beard and eyebrows and came out before her. She, horrified at his appearance and indignant at what he had done, ordered him to be put out. Since God preserved him from temptation by this means, he retained the same appearance ever after, and all those who follow his Way[111] shave the head, beard, and eyebrows.

A miracle of this shaikh. The story goes that when he came to the city of Dimyāṭ he never quitted its cemetery. There was in the town a qāḍī known as Ibn al-'Amīd, who went out one day to the funeral of one of the notables, and seeing the 64 Shaikh Jamāl al-Dīn in the cemetery said to him | 'You are the innovating[112] shaikh'. He replied 'And you are the ignorant

[109] Sāveh, a city in Persia, halfway between Hamadan and Teheran.

[110] The phrase deliberately conveys a parallel with the story of Yūsuf and Zalīkhā (Joseph and Potiphar's wife) in Qur'ān, xii, 23.

[111] *Tarīqa*, the 'way' of spiritual training and observances peculiar to each of the religious brotherhoods, and eventually used to denote the brotherhood itself.

[112] I.e. introducer of heretical doctrines or practices.

qāḍī, riding on your mule among the tombs, although you know that a man should be shown the same respect in death as in life'. The qāḍī said to him 'But worse than that is your shaving off your beard'. 'Is it to me that you refer?' said the shaikh; then bowing his head to his knees he raised it again, and lo! he had a magnificent black beard. The qāḍī was astonished, as were all those who were in his company, and dismounted from his mule [as a mark of respect] to him. The shaikh then bowed his head a second time and lo! he had a a fine white beard. Then he bowed his head a third time, and when he raised it again, he had no beard, just as he appeared to begin with. The qāḍī kissed his hand, and becoming his pupil, built him a fine hermitage and spent the rest of his life in his company. When at length the shaikh died he was buried in his hermitage, and the qāḍī, when his own death was at hand, gave instructions that he should be buried at the door of the hermitage, so that every visitor to the tomb of the shaikh should tread upon his grave.

Outside Dimyāṭ is | the sanctuary known as Shaṭā,[113] a 65 place where the divine power[114] is manifested. It is visited by people from all parts of Egypt. For this pilgrimage there are certain fixed days in the year. Also in the environs of the city and in the midst of its groves, there is a place called al-Munya;[115] living there was a worthy shaikh known as Ibn al-Nuʿmān, whose hermitage I visited and with whom I spent one night.

There was in Dimyāṭ, at the time of my stay there, a governor known as al-Muḥsinī,[116] a charitable and excellent man. He had built a college on the bank of the Nile; it was in this college that I lodged on that occasion, and a firm friendship grew up between us.

[113] Local tradition (quoted by Ibn Duqmāq, V, 81) pronounced Shaṭā to be 'a blessed spot of Paradise' located on earth

[114] I use this word to translate *baraka*, which from the original meaning of 'blessing, divine favour' acquired, especially in North African usage, the sense of magical power emanating from a holy man or object, capable of injuring as well as of doing good. The word is frequently on Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's lips.

[115] Ibn Duqmāq (V, 81) mentions three Munyas in the vicinity of the city.

[116] Called Balban al-Muḥsinī, according to *Durar*, I, 494, which dates his death in 1336. The *Mamlūk Chronicle* (ed. Zettersteen) mentions a Nāṣir al-Dīn ibn al-Muḥsinī, chief of police in Cairo 1329–34, possibly his son (cf. Ibn Taghrībirdī, IX, 284; X, 317).

I went on from there to the town of Fāriskūr,[117] which is a town on the banks of the Nile, and stopped outside it. Here I was overtaken by a horseman who had been sent after me by the amīr al-Muḥsinī. He said to me 'The amīr asked for you, and on learning of your departure he sent you this provision', and handed me a number of coins—may God 66 reward him! | Thence I travelled to the town of Ashmūn al-Rummān,[118] which owes the second part of its name to the abundance of pomegranates (*rummān*) which grow there and are exported thence to Cairo. It is a large and ancient town on one of the canals derived from the Nile, and it has a wooden bridge by which all vessels anchor. About mid-afternoon the baulks are lifted and the vessels pass up and down. In this town there is a chief qāḍī and a chief of police [?].[119]

From there I went next to the town of Samannūd, which is on the bank of the Nile, and has much shipping and fine markets. The distance from Samannūd to al-Mahalla al-Kabīra is three farsakhs. From this town I took ship on the Nile upstream to Cairo, between a succession of towns and 67 villages which join on to one another. There is no need for | a traveller on the Nile to take any provision with him, because whenever he wishes to descend on the bank he may do so, for ablutions, prayers, purchasing provisions, or any other purpose. There is a continuous series of bazaars from the city of Alexandria to Cairo, and from Cairo to the city of Uswān [Assuan] in Upper Egypt.[120]

[117] Still known by the same name.

[118] Called by Ibn Duqmāq Ushmūm Ṭanāḥ or Ushmūm al-Rummān, and at this time the capital of the province of al-Daqahlīya, situated on the Baḥr al-Ṣughaiyir, a channel derived from the Nile at al-Manṣūra and flowing into Lake Menzāla, said to have been dug by Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baibars (d. 1277).

[119] This is a puzzling statement. The term *wālī* was applied in Mamlūk Egypt generally (i) to the governor of a city or sub-district under a governor-general; (ii) to the police commandant of a major city. The term *wāli'l-wulāt* is not found in Mamlūk texts for a 'chief of police', but on the contrary used for the governor-general of Lower or Upper Egypt. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa may possibly have placed him at Ashmūn by error for Damanhūr, which was then the capital of Lower Egypt. Similarly, the title of chief qāḍī (*Qāḍi'l-Quḍāt*) was confined in Egypt to the chief qāḍīs of the four rites at Cairo. What he seems to have intended to imply was that these were the chief officers of their services in the province.

[120] 'Below Atrib [on the Damietta branch] the villages are so near each

I arrived at length at the city of Miṣr [Cairo], mother of cities and seat of Pharaoh the tyrant,[121] mistress of broad provinces and fruitful lands, boundless in multitude of buildings, peerless in beauty and splendour, the meeting-place of comer and goer, the stopping-place of feeble and strong. Therein is what you will of learned and simple, grave and gay, prudent and foolish, base and noble, of high estate and low estate, unknown and famous; she surges as the waves of the sea with her throngs of folk and can scarce contain them for all the capacity of her situation and sustaining power.[122] Her youth | is ever new in spite of length of days, 68 and the star of her horoscope does not move from the mansion of fortune; her conquering capital (*al-Qāhira*) has subdued the nations, and her kings have grasped the forelocks of both Arab and non-Arab. She has as her peculiar possession the majestic Nile, which dispenses her district from the need of entreating the distillation [of the rain]; her territory is a month's journey for a hastening traveller, of generous soil, and extending a friendly welcome to strangers.

Ibn Juzayy remarks: Of Cairo the poet says—

> No common town is Cairo, by thy life! Nay, she
> Is heaven on earth for those with eyes to see;
> Her youth those boys and maids with lustrous eyes,
> Kawthar her Nile, her Rawḍa Paradise.[123] |

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other that the banks of the Nile seem a continued town, interrupted only by gardens and aromatic groves': Savary, *Letters on Egypt*, Eng. tr., I, 284.

[121] Literally, 'he of the tent pegs', a phrase derived from the Qur'ān (Sūra xxxviii, 11), and popularly accepted as meaning 'who tortured by means of tent-pegs (or stakes)'. The association of medieval Cairo with the Pharaohs is, of course, rhetorical. Cairo proper, *al-Qāhira* ('the Conquering'), was founded by the Fāṭimids in 969 as their Egyptian capital, replacing the former Arab capital of al-Fusṭāṭ, laid out (as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions later) after the Arab conquest in 641, in the vicinity of Old Cairo (which occupies the site of the Byzantine fortress of 'Babylon the Lesser'). For the succession of medieval towns and the medieval topography of the area see the article 'Cairo' (by C. H. Becker) in *E.I.*

[122] The enormous population of Cairo is commented on by all medieval visitors; e.g. the Italian Frescobaldi, who visited it in 1384 (i.e. after the two 'Black Deaths' of 1348 and 1381), mentions that 100,000 persons slept at night outside the city because of the shortage of houses.

[123] The last two lines contain allusions to Qur'ānic descriptions of heaven; the boys are the 'eternal youths . . . like seeded pearls' (lxxvi, 19-20) who serve as cupbearers to the blessed, the girls the well-known virgins of Paradise called the *ḥūr al-'īn* ('those in whose eyes the black iris stands out sharply

69 Of Cairo too [the poet] Nāṣir al-Dīn ibn Nāhiḍ says:

The shore of Miṣr a garden is—unrivalled she by other town,
And yet more lovely she appears, bedecked by everflowing Nile.
The winds upon its surface weave long-skirted coats of linked mail—
Of woven mail whose perfect rings owe naught to David's skilful file.
The flowing current of her air shivers the wretch with tattered gown,
And vessels like celestial spheres, some upwards and some downwards, sail.[124]

(Resumes.) It is said that in Cairo there are twelve thousand water-carriers who transport water on camels, and thirty thousand hirers of mules and donkeys, and that on its Nile there are thirty-six thousand vessels belonging to the Sultan and his subjects, which sail upstream to Upper Egypt and downstream to Alexandria and Damietta, laden with 70 goods and commodities of all kinds. On | the bank of the Nile opposite Cairo is the place known as al-Rawḍa ['the Garden'], which is a pleasure park and promenade, containing many beautiful gardens. The people of Cairo are fond of pleasure and amusement. I once witnessed a fête there which was held for al-Malik al-Nāṣir's recovery from a fracture which he had suffered in his hand. All the merchants decorated their bazaars and had rich stuffs, ornaments, and silken fabrics hung up in their shops for several days.

The Mosque of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, and the colleges, hospital, and

against the clear white eyeball'). Kawthar, mentioned in cviii, 1, is popularly taken as the name of a river in Paradise, and in xviii, 108, the heavenly abodes are called gardens of al-Firdaws ('Paradise')

Al-Rawḍa is the long island to the north of Old Cairo, still called Roda, and described a few lines below. Its amusements and amenities, already mentioned by Ibn Jubair, are frequently referred to in subsequent Arabic writings, especially in the *Arabian Nights*.

[124] The French translators take this poem to refer to the time of the Nile floods, but without good reason. The reference to David as an armourer is derived from a tradition, given currency by the Qur'ān (xxi, 80: 'We taught him the art of making coats of mail for you'), and 'the weaving of David' is a commonplace of Arabic poetry. There is a play in the last line between *fulk* (felucca), 'sailing vessel', and *falak*, 'globe, celestial sphere'.

convents. The Mosque of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ is a noble mosque, highly venerated and widely celebrated. The Friday service is held in it, and the road runs right through it from east to west.[125] To the west of it is the cell where the Imām Abū 'Abdallāh al-Shāfi'ī used to teach.[126] As for the madrasas in Cairo, they are too many for anyone to count;[127] and as for | the Māristān, which is 'between the two castles' near the mausoleum of al-Malik al-Manṣūr Qalā'ūn, no description is adequate to its beauties.[128] It is equipped with innumerable conveniences and medicaments, and its revenue is reported to be a thousand dinars a day. The convents too are numerous. The people there call them *khawāniq*, the singular being *khānqa*, and the amīrs in Cairo vie with one another in building them.[129]

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[125] The original mosque, the first in Egypt, was built by the Arab conqueror 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ in 641, but even by this time successive enlargements and restorations had left nothing of the primitive building. (In its present form it dates only from 1798.) After the destruction of the first Arab city of Fusṭāṭ in 1168, however, it was deserted and fell into disrepair, and the 'road' of which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa speaks was a track made by persons taking a short cut through it. In spite of all, it retained a reputation for special sanctity, owing to its associations with the Companions of the Prophet. See S. Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo* (London, 1906), 42 ff., and for fuller details E. K. Corbett, 'The history of the mosque of 'Amr', in *JRAS*, 1890.

[126] This is not the Madrasa of the Imām al-Shafi'ī, which was built by Saladin next to the famous tomb-mosque of the Imām, described below (p. 47), but a cell in or close to the Mosque of 'Amr (Ibn Duqmāq, IV, 100) Al-Shāfi'ī, the eponymous imām of one of the four orthodox 'schools' or 'rites' in Islam, came to Egypt in 814, and remained there, except for a visit to Mecca, until his death early in 820. His cell was subsequently occupied by a series of famous teachers belonging to his school.

[127] For the *madrasa* or college-mosque see above, p. 13, n. 17. Their numbers increased rapidly after the end of the eleventh century, and the Egyptian writers mention some thirty or forty in Cairo at this time.

[128] Only the façade, entrance hall (with minaret), and some fragments now remain of this magnificent hospital, built by Sultan Qa'ā'ūn (1279–90), the fourth of its kind in medieval Egypt: see Lane-Poole, *Cairo*, 212, and Max Herz-Pascha, *Die Baugruppe des Sultan Qalāūn* (Hamburg, 1919). The adjoining mausoleum of the Sultan, now partially restored, is one of the most exquisite monuments of Saracenic architecture and ornament. The name of the street 'Between the Two Castles' (Baina'l-Qaṣrain), derived in all probability from the Fāṭimid palaces erected in this quarter in the tenth and eleventh centuries, is still preserved in this section of the roadway.

[129] The *khānqa* (khāngāh), *ribāṭ*, or *zāwiya* in its later sense, was a monastic establishment, serving as a retreat for faqīrs and darwīshes, as a hostel for travellers, and for other religious and socio-religious functions. Of the khānqas of Cairo in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's time only that of Baibars II al-Chāshnigīr

Each convent in Cairo is affected to the use of a separate congregation of poor brethren, most of whom are Persians, men of good education and adepts in the 'way' of Sufism. Each has a shaikh [as superior] and a warden, and the organization of their affairs is admirable. It is one of their customs in the matter of their food that the steward of the house comes in the morning to the faqīrs, each of whom then specifies what food he desires. When they assemble for meals, each person is given his bread and soup in a separate dish, 72 none sharing with another. | They eat twice a day. They receive winter clothing and summer clothing and a monthly allowance varying from twenty to thirty dirhams each.[130] Every Thursday night they are given sugar cakes, soap to wash their clothes, the price of admission to the bath-house, and oil to feed their lamps. These men are celibate; the married men have separate convents. Amongst the stipulations required of them are attendance at the five daily prayers, spending the night in the convent, and assembly in mass in a chapel within the convent. Another of their customs is that each one of them sits [for prayers] upon a prayer-carpet reserved for his exclusive use. When they pray the dawn prayer they recite the chapters of *Victory*, of *the Kingdom*, and of *'Amma.*[131] After this copies of the Holy Qur'ān are brought, divided into sections, and each faqīr takes a section.[132] After 'sealing' the Qur'ān and reciting a *dhikr*,[133] the Qur'ān-readers give a

('Taster', colloquially called 'al-Gāshankīr', see below, p. 160, n. 16), near the Bāb al-Naṣr, is still in existence.

[130] Evidently from the revenues and endowments affected to the upkeep of the monastery by its patron or founder, usually one of the Mamlūk amīrs. The presenting of changes of clothing by superior officers to their subordinates was a regular feature of the Mamlūk organization.

[131] I.e. Sūras xlviii (composed of twenty-nine long verses), lxvii (thirty short verses), and lxxviii (forty-one very short verses).

[132] The Qur'ān is divided into thirty equal sections, and manuscripts of it very often consist of thirty small volumes, bound separately for congregational use. By thirty persons each reading one part, the whole of the Qur'ān can easily be read through ('sealed') at a sitting.

[133] *Dhikr* (lit. 'remembering' or 'making mention') became the technical term to denote the chant or anthem, consisting generally of sentences from the Qur'ān praising and glorifying God. In the *ṭarīqa* organization of the Ṣūfīs the peculiar *dhikr* of each *ṭarīqa* was one of its essential elements, solemnly celebrated by all members of the order on specified occasions.

recital according to | the custom of the Easterners.[134] 73 They hold a similar service following the mid-afternoon prayer.

They have a regular ritual for the admission of newcomers. The applicant comes to the gate of the convent and takes up his stand there, with his waist girt, a prayer mat on his shoulder, the staff in his right hand and the jug in his left.[135] The gatekeeper informs the steward of the convent that he is there. The steward then comes out to him and asks him from what country he has come, what convents he has stayed in on his way, and who was his spiritual director (*shaikh*). When he has ascertained the truth of his answers, he admits him into the convent, spreads his prayer-mat for him in a place befitting his station, and shows him the lavatory. The newcomer renews his ablutions and, returning to his mat, ungirds his waist, and prays two prostrations,[136] then he clasps the hand of the shaikh [of the convent] and those of the others present, and takes his seat amongst them. Another custom of theirs is that on Fridays the servant collects all their prayer-mats | and takes them to the mosque, where he 74 spreads them in readiness for their coming. The faqīrs come out in a body, accompanied by their shaikh, proceed to the mosque, and pray each on his own mat. When they have finished the prayer they recite the Qur'ān according to their custom, and thereafter return in a body to the convent, accompanied by their shaikh.

The Qarāfa of Cairo and its sanctuaries. At [Old] Cairo too is [the cemetery called] al-Qarāfa, a place of vast repute for blessed power, whose special virtue is affirmed in a tradition related by al-Qurṭubī amongst others, for it is a part of the amount al-Muqaṭṭam, of which God has promised that it shall

[134] This refers apparently to the musical and antiphonal chanting of the Qur'ān which was frequently practised in the Eastern cities, generally by a choir of *mu'adhdhins* (muezzins). Ibn Jubair (210, 13; 221, 3–8) describes the chanting of such choirs at Baghdād 'with pleasing modulations and moving melodies'.

[135] The staff and jug were the symbols of the wandering faqīr or darwīsh.

[136] The unit of Muslim prayer, as is well known, consists of a sequence of two bowings, a genuflexion, and two prostrations, the whole of which together with the appropriate recitations is called one *raq'a* ('bowing', translated here 'prostration'). Every service of prayer, however, consists of at least two *raq'as*.

be one of the gardens of Paradise.[137] These people build in the Qarāfa beautiful domed chapels and surround them by walls, so that they look like houses, and they construct chambers in them and hire the services of Qur'ān-readers, who recite night and day in beautiful voices.[138] There are some of them who 75 build a religious house | or a madrasa by the side of the mausoleum. They go out every Thursday evening to spend the night there with their children and womenfolk and make a circuit of the famous sanctuaries. They go out also to spend the night there on the night of mid-Sha'bān,[139] and the market-people take out all kinds of eatables.

Among the celebrated sanctuaries [in the city of Cairo] is the imposing holy shrine where rests the head of al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī (on both be peace).[140] Beside it is a vast convent, of

[137] Several traditions to this effect (one of them even attributed to Jesus) are cited in a work on the sanctuaries in the Qarāfa (*al-Kawākib al-Sayyāra fi tartīb al-Ziyāra*) by Muḥammad b. al-Zayyāt, written in 1401 (printed in Cairo, 1907). There are numerous other works on the same subject, of which some are still extant in MS. (e.g. B.M. Or. MSS 3049 and 4635). For al-Qurṭubi, see p. 140, n. 272.

[138] The main Qarāfa lies immediately to the south of modern Cairo, extending for a distance of over a mile between Old Cairo and the Muqaṭṭam hills. In size and appearance it resembles a town, owing to the peculiar Egyptian custom here referred to of building chambers and houses over the tombs. 'When the people of Cairo wish to go in for serious dissipation they visit the graves of their relations, and there, in houses specially reserved for cheerful mourners, they listen to the chanting of the holy book' (Lane-Poole, *Cairo*, 22).

[139] The night following the 14th Sha'bān (the eighth month of the Muslim year) has in all Muslim lands taken on many of the traditional features of a New Year's Eve. Special services are held in the mosques and various ceremonies are observed, often in commemoration of the dead. According to popular tradition (reflecting in Qur'ānic garb an idea at least as old as Babylon) 'on this night the Lote-tree of Paradise, on the leaves of which are inscribed the names of all living persons, is shaken, and the leaf of any mortal who is predestined to die during the ensuing year falls withering to the ground' (Michell, *Egyptian Calendar for the Koptic Year 1617*).

[140] Al-Ḥusain, the younger son of the caliph 'Alī and the Prophet's daughter Fāṭima, was killed with most of his family at Karbalā in 'Irāq in 681, while leading a revolt against the Umayyad caliph of Damascus. The death of the Prophet's grandson in this fashion caused a revulsion against the reigning house, and to this day the tragedy is commemorated by both Sunnīs and Shī'ites on the 10th of Muḥarram, the anniversary of the event. The Fāṭimid caliphs of Egypt, who as claiming descent from Ḥusain encouraged the veneration of the 'People of the House' (of the Prophet), brought the severed head of Ḥusain, formerly preserved in Palestine, to Egypt at the time of the siege of Ascalon by the crusaders in 1153 (al-Fāriqī, *apud* Ibn al-Qalānisī, ed. Amedroz, p. 322, n. 1; and below, p. 81, n. 49)

wonderful workmanship, on the doors of which there are silver rings, and plates also on them of the same metal.[141] This shrine is paid its full meed of respect and veneration.

Amongst the monuments [in the Qarāfa] is the tomb of the Lady (*Sayyida*) Nafīsa, daughter of Zaid b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī (upon them be peace).[142] She was a woman answered in prayer and zealous in her devotions. This mausoleum is of elegant construction and resplendent brightness, and beside it is a convent which is visited by a great concourse [during the days of the feast dedicated to her]. | Another is the tomb 76 of the Imām Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī, close by which is a large convent. The mausoleum enjoys an immense revenue and is surmounted by the famous dome, of admirable workmanship and marvellous construction, an exceedingly fine piece of architecture and exceptionally lofty, the diameter of which exceeds thirty cubits.[143] The Qarāfa of Cairo contains also an incalculable number of graves of men eminent for learning and religion, and in it lie a goodly number of the Companions[144] and of the leading figures of

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and had a magnificent shrine built for it close to the palace. The shrine is enthusiastically described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's predecessor Ibn Jubair (p. 40; trans. in Lane-Poole's *Cairo*, 181–3; trans. by R. J. C. Broadhurst, 36–7). At the present day the mosque of *Sayyidnā Ḥusēn* is an imposing edifice near the Khān al-Khalīlī and the eastern wall of the city, and is still one of the most sacred monuments of Cairo (cf. for example F. Bonjean, *El-Azhar* (Rieder, Paris) 166–9). According to another version, however, the head was not that of Ḥusain, but of his grandson Zaid b. 'Alī, killed during a rebellion in 740 (al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 436).

[141] Or perhaps 'with similar silver rings'.

[142] The tomb of Sayyida (Sitt) Nafīsa is situated at the southern end of the modern city, at the beginning of the Qarāfa. The mausoleum was constructed by the Fāṭimids, but has been much repaired in later times, and still enjoys great popular veneration. Her genealogy as given by the Egyptian historians is 'daughter of Al-Ḥasan b. Zaid b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī'.

[143] The tomb mosque of the Imām al-Shāfi'ī (see p. 43, n. 126) with its vast dome in the Qarāfa dates in its present form substantially from the time of al-Kāmil, nephew of Saladin, by whom it was restored in 1210. It is the largest mortuary chapel in Egypt. It is probable that, by the 'convent' (*ribāṭ*) attached to this mausoleum, and the one at the shrine of Ḥusain (above), Ibn Baṭṭūṭa means the large madrasas which were built to the order of Saladin, the former of which is described also by Ibn Jubair (Lane-Poole, *Cairo*, 184; tr. Broadhurst, 40).

[144] 'The Companions of the Prophet' is the term used to denote all of those contemporaries of Muḥammad who had seen or spoken to him. Since the Arab town of Fusṭāṭ was founded only nine years after his death, the cemetery must obviously have been the last resting place of a number of

both earlier and later generations (God be pleased with them), for example: 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, Ashhab b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, Aṣbagh b. al-Faraj, the two sons of 'Abd al-Ḥakam, Abu'l-Qāsim b. Sha'bān, and Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wahhhāb.[145] But these persons enjoy no celebrity there, and are unknown except to those who have a special interest in them; whereas al-Shāfi'ī has been favoured by fortune in regard to himself and his followers and adherents, both in his own lifetime and after his death. Everything 77 about him provides | a clear testimony to the truth of his own verse:

> Diligence (*al-jidd*) brings near each distant aim
> And fortune (*al-jadd*) opens every bolted door.

The Egyptian Nile.[146] The Egyptian Nile surpasses all rivers of the earth in sweetness of taste, breadth of channel[147] and magnitude of utility. Cities and villages succeed one another along its banks without interruption and have no equal in the inhabited world, nor is any river known whose basin is so intensively cultivated as that of the Nile.[148] There is no river on earth but it which is called a sea; God Most High has said 'If thou fearest for him, cast him into the *yamm*',[149] thus calling it *yamm*, which means 'sea' (*baḥr*). It is related in an unimpeachable Tradition that the Prophet of God (God's blessing and peace upon him) reached on the night of his

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Companions. Ibn Jubair (p. 48; tr. Broadhurst, 39–42), mentions many of these by name.

[145] Several of these persons are mentioned also by Ibn Jubair. All were leading jurists of the Mālikī school, and some were direct students of its founder, Mālik b. Anas (d. at Madīna, 795). Both the travellers from the west, as devoted Mālikīs, naturally made much of these early scholars. At the present day most of these tombs seem to be unknown, except that of one of the descendants of 'Abd al-Ḥakam, who is buried under the same dome as al-Shāfi'ī. The sentence that follows in the text implies that the Cairenes, being in the majority of the Shāfi'ite school, were not interested in them.

[146] So called in contradistinction to the 'Sudanese Nile', i.e. the Niger.

[147] These two words (*ittisā' quṭr*) are translated by the French editors 'la vaste étendue de son cours'; *quṭr*, however, is the technical term for the diameter of a circle, pillar etc., and *wasi'* implies breadth rather than length. I doubt, moreover, whether Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was particularly interested in the length of rivers, even assuming them to be accurately known.

[148] Literally, 'upon which there is cultivated that which is cultivated upon the Nile'.

[149] Qur'ān, xxviii, 6. The words are addressed to the mother of Moses.

Ascension[150] the Lote-Tree of the Extremity,[151] and lo, at its base were four streams, two outer streams and two inner streams. | He asked Gabriel (peace be upon him) what streams 78 these were, and he replied 'The two inner streams flow through Paradise, and as for the two outer streams they are the Nile and Euphrates'. It is also related in the Traditions of the Prophet that the Nile, Euphrates, Saiḥān and Jaiḥān are, each one, rivers of Paradise.[152] The course of the Nile is from south to north, contrary to all the [great] rivers. One extraordinary thing about it is that it begins to rise in the extreme hot weather, at the time when rivers generally diminish and dry up, and begins to subside at the time when rivers increase in volume and overflow. The river of Sind [Indus] resembles it in this respect, and will be mentioned later The first beginning of the Nile flood is in Ḥazīrān, that is June; and when its rise amounts to sixteen cubits, the land-tax due to the Sultan is payable in full. If it rises another cubit, there is plenty in that year, and complete well-being. But if it reaches eighteen cubits it does damage | to the cultivated lands and 79 causes an outbreak of plague. If it falls short of sixteen by a cubit, the Sultan's land-tax is diminished, and if it is two cubits short the people make solemn prayers for rain and there is the greatest misery.[153]

The Nile is one of the five great rivers of the world, which

[150] The famous night-journey of Muḥammad when he was carried from Mecca to Jerusalem, and thence ascended into Heaven. See the article *Isrā'* in *E.I.*, and, for a detailed medieval version of this journey, see E. Cerulli, *Il 'Libro della Scala'* (Vatican City, 1949).

[151] The Celestial Lote-tree beyond which none may pass, mentioned in Qur'ān, liii, 14. See also p. 46, n. 139.

[152] Saiḥān and Jaiḥān are the Arabic names of the Cilician rivers Sarus and Pyramus respectively, which are the rivers referred to in the Tradition (itself, of course, like the preceding one, unauthentic and first found in the works of the geographers and historians of the third century after the Prophet). But Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was not the first to confuse these names with those of the Saiḥūn and Jaiḥūn, i.e. the Jaxartes (Syr Darya) and Oxus (Amu Darya), and though he preserves the distinction in the vowels, he states explicitly in a later passage (text, vol. III, p. 5) that the Jaiḥūn (Oxus) is one of the four rivers of Paradise.

[153] 'A flood of a certain height is required to do this [i.e. irrigation by the old basin system] properly, but if the flood is very high, there is the danger that banks may burst, and then damage to life and property may occur' (H. E. Hurst, in *Geogr. J.*, LXX, 444). The Arabic chronicles of Egypt always give the height of the Nile flood each year.

are the Nile, Euphrates, Tigris, Saiḥūn [Syr Darya] and Jaiḥūn [Amu Darya]; five other rivers rival these, the river of Sind, which is called Panj Āb [i.e. Five Rivers], the river of Hindustān which is called the Kank [or Gang, i.e. Ganges]—to it the Hindus go on pilgrimage, and when they burn their dead they throw the ashes of them into it, and they say that it comes from Paradise—the river Jūn, also in Hindustān,[154] the river Itil [Volga] in the Qifjaq [Kipchak] steppe, on the shore of which is the city of al-Sarā, and the river Sarū[155] in the land of al-Khiṭā [Cathay], on the banks of which is the city of Khān-Bāliq [Peking], whence it descends to the city 80 of al-Khansā [Hang-chow] and from there to | the city of al-Zaitūn [Zayton] in the land of China. We shall speak of all these in their proper places, if God will. Some distance below Cairo the Nile divides into three sections,[156] and none of these streams can be crossed except by boat, winter or summer. The inhabitants of every township have canals led off the Nile; when it is in flood it fills these and they inundate the cultivated fields.

The pyramids and berbās. These are among the marvels which have been celebrated through the course of ages, and there is much talk and theorizing amongst men about them, their significance and the origin of their construction.[157] They aver that all branches of knowledge which came into existence before the Deluge were derived from Hermes the Ancient, who lived in the remotest part of the Sa'īd [Upper Egypt]; he is also called by the name of Khanūkh [Enoch]

[154] The name Jūn is usually applied by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa to the Jumna, but he gives the same name in one passage (IV, 212; *Selections*, p. 267) to the Brahmaputra.

[155] The name Sarū or Sārū is explained by the French translators as the Mongol (or rather Turco-Mongol) word for 'yellow'. The peculiar description of the course of the 'Yellow River' which follows will be discussed later in relation to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's journey to China; see provisionally the notes to my *Selections*, p. 368.

[156] The majority of Arab geographers retain the traditional number of seven branches, but already some mention only two, i.e. the Rosetta and Damietta branches. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's third branch appears to be the same as that of his contemporary, the geographer Abu'l-Fidā (d. 1331), who divides the Damietta branch into two at al-Manṣūra, the eastern (Tanaitic) branch of the two debouching into Lake Menzāla. See Omar Toussoun, *Mémoire sur les anciennes branches du Nile, époque arabe*, (Cairo, 1923).

[157] See the article 'Haram' in *E.I.*

that is Idrīs (on him be peace).[158] It is said that he was the first to speculate on the movements of the spheres and the celestial bodies, | and the first to construct temples and glorify 81 God in them; and that he warned men of the coming of the Deluge, and fearing for the disappearance of knowledge and destruction of the practical arts built the pyramids and berbas, in which he depicted all the practical arts and their tools, and made diagrams of the sciences, in order that they might remain immortalized. It is said also that the seat of learning and kingship in Egypt was the city of Manūf [Memphis], which is one *barīd* from al-Fusṭāṭ.[159] When Alexandria was built, the people removed to it, and it became the seat of learning and kingship until the coming of Islām, when 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ (God be pleased with him) laid out the city of al-Fusṭāṭ, which remains the capital of Egypt to this day.[160]

The pyramids[161] is an edifice of solid hewn stone, of immense height and circular plan, broad at the base and narrow at the top, like the figure of a cone. They have no doorways and the manner of their erection is unknown. One of the tales related about them is that a certain king | of 82 Egypt before the Flood dreamed a dream which filled him with terror and determined him to build these pyramids on the western side of the Nile, as a depository for the sciences and for the bodies of the kings. He asked the astrologers whether they would be opened in the future at any spot, and they told him that an opening would be made on the north side, and informed him of the exact spot where the opening

[158] This triple identification of Hermes Trismegistos (i.e. the Egyptian god Thoth), Enoch of Gen. v, and the Idrīs mentioned twice as a prophet in the Qur'ān (xix. 57; xxi. 85), and the ascription to him of the invention of writing, clothing, astronomy, etc. are accepted facts in the medieval Muslim writers; see article 'Idrīs' in *E.I.* The whole passage is summarized from the 'Biographies of Men of Science' (*Ta'rīkh al Ḥukamā*) of Ibn al-Qifṭī (d. 1248) (ed. Lippert, p. 6).

[159] A *barīd*, regarded as the average distance between two post-stations (*barīd* being the technical term for the state-post, courier, or post-horse) was reckoned in the Persian zone as two farsakhs (six miles), in Egypt and the west at four farsakhs (twelve miles); cf. p. 34, n. 93.

[160] See p. 41, n. 121; p. 43, n. 125.

[161] It is noteworthy that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa speaks of the Pyramids as if they were a single building, and he makes no mention of the Sphinx. On comparing his account with the precise statements of Ibn Jubair, it seems evident that he did not go out to visit them personally.

would begin, and of the sum of money which would be expended in making the opening. He then ordered to be deposited in that place the sum of money which they had told him would be spent in breaching it. By pressing forward its construction, he completed it in sixty years, and wrote [this inscription] upon them: 'We erected these pyramids in the space of sixty years; let him who will, pull them down in the space of six hundred years; yet to pull down is easier than to build.' Now when the Caliphate devolved upon the Commander of the Faithful | al-Ma'mūn,[162] he proposed to pull them down, and although one of the Egyptian shaikhs advised him not to do so he persisted in his design and ordered that they should be breached from the north side. So they set about lighting fires up against them and then sprinkling them with vinegar and battering them with a mangonel, until the breach which is still to be seen in them was opened up. There they found, facing the hole, a sum of money which the Commander of the Faithful ordered to be weighed. He then calculated what had been spent on making the breach, and finding the two sums equal, was greatly astonished. At the same time they found the breadth of the wall to be twenty cubits.[163]

The Sultan of Egypt. The Sultan of Egypt at the time of my entry was al-Malik al-Nāṣir Abu'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad, son of al-Malik al-Manṣūr Saif al-Dīn Qalā'ūn al-Ṣāliḥī. Qalā'ūn was known as al-Alfī ['the Thousand-man'] because al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ bought him for a thousand dinars of gold. He came originally from Qifjaq [Kipchak].[164] Al-Malik al-Nāṣir (God's

[162] Al-Ma'mūn (reigned at Baghdād, 813–33), was the second son of Hārūn al-Rashīd and the only caliph of Baghdād to visit Egypt. His arrival in 832 was due to the need of taking decisive action against the successive rebellions of Arabs and Copts which had disturbed the country for many years, but he also made a progress through the Delta. The legend of his attempt to open the Great Pyramid in search of treasure is told by the famous physician 'Abd al-Laṭīf.

[163] Here again he seems to conceive of the Pyramids as a building surrounded by an outer wall.

[164] The government of Egypt was at this time in the hands of the famous Mamlūk Sultans of the first or Baḥrī line, founded in 1250 by the slave army of the penultimate Ayyūbid Sultan, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (1240–49). The Mamlūks were Turkish, Circassian, or other white slaves, who were purchased for military service by the Sultan or military commanders (*amīrs*). Those of outstanding ability rose in turn (with the aid of good fortune and a certain

mercy upon him) was | a man of generous character and great 84 virtues, and sufficient proof of his nobility is furnished by his devotion to the service of the two holy sanctuaries [of Mecca and Madīna] and the works of beneficence which he does every year to assist the pilgrims, in furnishing camels loaded with provisions and water for those without means and the helpless, and for carrying those who cannot keep up with the caravan or are too weak to walk on foot, both on the Egyptian pilgrim-road and on that from Damascus. He also built a great convent at Siryāquṣ, in the outskirts of Cairo.[165] But the convent built by our lord the Commander of the Faithful and Defender of the Faith, the refuge of the poor and needy, Caliph of God upon earth, whose zeal in the Holy War transcends its obligations, Abū 'Inān (God be his strength and aid, and grant him the signal victory, and prosper him), in the outskirts of his sublime residence, the luminous city (God guard it), has no | equal to it in the inhabited world for perfection 85 of architecture, beauty of construction, and plaster carving such as none of the Easterners can accomplish.[166] We shall speak in due course of the schools, hospitals, and convents which he (God be his strength) has founded in his land (God guard it and preserve it by the prolongation of his reign).

Some of the amīrs of Cairo. Amongst them was the cup-bearer of al-Malik al-Nāṣir, the amīr Buktumūr; it was he whom al-Malik al-Nāṣir put to death by poison, as will be related subsequently.[167] Another was al-Malik al-Nāṣir's deputy, Arghūn the Dawādār, and it is he who comes next

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absence of scruples) to the rank of *amīr*, and on the death of the reigning Sultan the *amīrs* elected or acknowledged one of their own number as his successor. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir, however, who succeeded for the first time in 1293 and with two short intervals reigned until 1341, gained such a predominance in his long reign that the sultanate remained in his house until 1390.

[165] Siryāquṣ (more frequently spelled Siryāqūṣ: Ibn Duqmāq, V, 49), eleven miles north of Cairo, was at this time a favourite country residence of the sultan and the amīrs.

[166] The reference is to the Bū'Inānīya madrasa in Fez, which is still intact: see G. Marçais, *L'Architecture musulmane d'Occident* (Paris, 1954), pp. 291–3, and plates p. 297.

[167] Baktamūr (as the name is usually spelled) acquired almost fabulous wealth and power as the intimate of al-Nāṣir; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, I, 486–7. He died in 1335. The popular story of his death is related by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Arabic edition, II, 249–50.

to Buktumūr in rank.[168] Another was Ṭushṭu, who was known as 'Green Chickpeas'; he was one of the best of the amīrs and had to his credit many charities to orphans for clothing and 86 upkeep, | and payment of a salary to a teacher to instruct them in the Qur'ān. He also made large benefactions to the [vagabonds known as] *ḥarāfīsh*, who are a large organized body, hard-faced folk and lewd.[169] Al-Malik al-Nāṣir once imprisoned Ṭushṭu, and the *ḥarāfīsh* assembled in thousands, took up their stand below the citadel and shouted as with a single tongue: 'Ho, thou ill-starred limper (meaning al-Malik al-Nāṣir), fetch him out!' So he released him from his place of confinement. He imprisoned him a second time, but the orphans made a like scene, and he set him free [again]. Others of the amīrs are the wazīr of al-Malik al-Nāṣir, known by the name of al-Jamālī; Badr al-Dīn ibn al-Bābah; Jamāl al-Dīn, the sultan's lieutenant at al-Karak; Tuquz Dumūr (*dumūr* in Turkish means 'iron'); Bahādūr al-Ḥijāzī; Qawsūn; 87 and Bashtak. | All these amīrs vie with one another in charitable works and the founding of mosques and religious houses.[170]

[168] Arghūn 'the Pen-holder' (d. 1330), head of the chancery, acquired a great reputation for justice, courtesy, and learning. He was for a time governor of Aleppo, and increased the water-supply by drawing off some of the water of the Sājūr river into the Quwaiq; see *Durar*, I, 351–2.

[169] Tashtamūr al-Badrī was purchased by al-Nāṣir and was subsequently appointed cupbearer, then governor successively of Ṣafad and Aleppo, and viceroy of Egypt under al-Nāṣir's son Aḥmad, but was finally arrested and executed in 1342. The epithet of 'Green Chickpeas' was given to him in consequence of his fondness for this vegetable: see *Durar*, II, 219–20; L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, 226. The *ḥarāfīsh* are frequently mentioned in the Egyptian chronicles and in the *Arabian Nights*; Ibn Ḥajar in his chronicle records the death of a 'sultan of the *ḥarāfīsh*' in 1390 (A.H. 792).

[170] 'Alā al-Dīn Mughulṭāy al-Jamālī, known as *Khuruz* (the Cock), ustādār or steward of the household, vizier from 1324 to 1329, died 1332 (*Durar*, IV, 354; and see p. 27, n. 70 above). Badr al-Dīn Jankalī ibn al-Bābā was a Mongol officer who deserted to Egypt, d. 1346 (*Durar*, I, 539–40); Jamāl al-Dīn Āqūsh al-Ashrafī was governor of Kerak from 1291 to 1308, and subsequently controller of the hospital at Cairo, d. 1335 (*Durar*, I, 395–6; Mayer, 71–2); Ṭuquzdamūr al-Nāṣirī was cupbearer to al-Nāṣir and after his death viceroy of Syria, d. 1345 (*Durar*, II, 225; Mayer, 235); Bahādur al-Ḥijāzī seems to be Bahādur al-Timurtāshī, who, with Qawsūn and Bashtāk, formed the inner circle of al-Nāṣir's intimates, d. 1343 (*Durar*, I, 496); Qawsūn appears to have been of Mongol origin and became viceroy of Egypt after al-Nāṣir's death, executed in 1342 (*Durar*, III, 257–8; Mayer, 186); Bashtāk was executed in 1341, his palace still exists in the Bain al-Qaṣrain in Cairo (*Durar*, I, 477–9; Mayer, 104).

Of their number also is the intendant of the army of al-Malik al-Nāṣir, who is at the same time his secretary, the qāḍī Fakhr al-Dīn al-Qibṭī. He was a Coptic Christian, but afterwards embraced Islām and made an exemplary Muslim. He is a man of the most generous qualities and possessed of all the virtues, and his rank is one of the highest at the court of al-Malik al-Nāṣir.[171] He has to his credit many charities and large benefactions. It is his custom to sit in the evening in a reception room which he has in the portico of his mansion on the Nile, and next to which is the mosque. When the hour of the sunset prayer arrives, he prays in the mosque, and then returns to his reception room and food is served. During this time no one, whosoever he may be, is prevented from coming in; anyone who has a request to make may speak on it, and he settles it for him; if anyone asks for alms he commands one of his mamlūks, addressed as Badr al-Dīn (his name being Lu'lu') to go with him | outside the house where 88 his treasurer is in waiting with purses of silver, and gives him the sum which has been fixed for him. At the same time also the doctors of the law come into his presence and the book of al-Bukhārī[172] is read before him; then, when he has prayed the last evening prayer, the assembly withdraws and leaves him.

The qāḍīs in Cairo at the time of my arrival there. Amongst them was the Shāfi'ite Grand Qāḍī ['Qāḍī of Qāḍīs'], who is the highest of them in rank and enjoys the greatest esteem, and in whose hands lies the appointment and dismissal of the qāḍīs in Cairo. He was the learned qāḍī and imām Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamā'a,[173] but it is his son 'Izz al-Dīn who at present exercises that function. Others were the Mālikite Grand Qāḍī, the pious imām Taqī al-Dīn al-Akhnā'ī,[174] and

[171] Fakhr al-Dīn was financial intendant of the army from 1310 until his death in 1332. He is credited with building no less than three mosques in Cairo (Zetterstéen, 225).

[172] The *Ṣaḥīḥ* (or collection of Authentic Traditions) of al-Bukhārī (d. 870) enjoys a veneration in Muslim religious circles inferior only to that of the Qur'ān.

[173] Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Jamā'a, of Ḥamāh, b. 1241, d. 1333, was one of the most famous of later Muslim jurists. Thrice Grand Qāḍī of Egypt, he held his post on the third occasion from 1310 until his resignation in April 1327 (*Durar*, III, 280–3). His son 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz (1294–1366) subsequently held the same office twice.

[174] Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Akhnā'ī (1262–1349) also belonged to a family with a long record as qāḍīs (*Durar*, III, 407–8). His

the Ḥanafite Grand Qāḍī, the learned imām Shams al-Dīn 89 al-Ḥarīrī.[175] The latter was | exceedingly severe, and no person could find fault with him in [the execution of his duties toward] God. The amīrs went in fear of him, and it was even told me that al-Malik al-Nāṣir said one day to his private circle 'I have no fear of anyone but of Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥarīrī'. Amongst them also was the Ḥanbalite Grand Qāḍī, of whom I know no more than that he was called 'Izz al-Dīn.[176]

Anecdote. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir (God's mercy upon him) used to hold sittings every Monday and Thursday to investigate complaints of injustice and receive the petitions of complainants. The four [Grand] Qāḍīs sat on his left, and as the petitions were read before him he would nominate someone to question the petitioner on the subject of his petition. Our lord the Commander of the Faithful and Defender of the Faith [Abū 'Inān] (God be his strength) has followed in this respect a line of conduct unprecedented and unsurpassed in equity and humility, namely, that he in his noble person questions 90 every complainant, | and investigates every petition brought before his upright presence—God forbid that any but he (God lengthen his days) should preside over these sessions.[177] Now it was the practice of the judges above-mentioned that the one who ranked highest among them when in session was the qāḍī of the Shāfi'ites, then the qāḍī of the Ḥanafites, then the qāḍī of the Mālikites, and lastly the qāḍī of the Ḥanbalites. When Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥarīrī died and Burhān al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Ḥanafī was appointed in his place [as Grand

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brother 'Alam al-Dīn Muḥammad was subsequently Shāfi'ite qāḍī at Damascus.

[175] Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Othmān al-Anṣārī Ibn al-Ḥarīrī (1255–1328) (*Durar*, IV. 39–40).

[176] The Ḥanbalī chief qāḍī from 1312 to 1337 was Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Omar al-Maqdisī, the son of 'Izz al-Dīn, who was Ḥanbalī qāḍī in Cairo from 1300 until he died in 1311 (*Durar*, I, 225–6; III, 345).

[177] For the history and organization of the royal courts, called *Maẓālim*, see E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*, II (Lyon, 1943), 141–288. The ceremonial order of these courts under al-Malik al-Nāṣir is described by several Egyptian authorities (see Tyan, 249–51). No little weight is given in Muslim sources to the manner in which caliphs and princes maintained this institution, to such an extent that it became a criterion of justice and good government.

Qāḍī of the Ḥanafites],[178] the amīrs advised al-Malik al-Nāṣir that the Mālikite qāḍī should be given the seat above him, recalling that this had been the custom formerly, as the Mālikite qāḍī Zain al-Dīn b. Makhlūf[179] used to sit next to the Shāfi'ite qāḍī Taqī al-Dīn ibn Daqīq al-'Īd. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir gave orders accordingly. When the Ḥanafite qāḍī learned of it, he absented himself from the sitting out of pique at this decision. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir was displeased at his absence and, having learnt his reason for it, | ordered him to 91 be fetched. When he appeared before him, the chamberlain took him by the hand and made him sit where the sultan had ordered, that is, next below the qāḍī of the Mālikites, and in this position he remained.

Some of the scholars and notables of Cairo. Amongst them are Shams al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī, the foremost authority in the world on logic and metaphysics; Sharaf al-Dīn al-Zawāwī, the Mālikite; Burhān al-Dīn, the son of al-Shādhilī's daughter, deputy of the Grand Qāḍī in the congregational mosque of al-Ṣāliḥ; Rukn al-Dīn b. al-Qawba' al-Tūnisī, an authority on logic and metaphysics; Shams al-Dīn b. 'Adlān, the chief of the Shāfi'ites; Bahā' al-Dīn b. 'Aqīl, a leading jurist; Athīr al-Dīn Abū Ḥayyān Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī [i.e. of Granada], who is the most learned of them in grammar; the pious shaikh Badr al-Dīn 'Abdallāh | al-Manūfī; Burhān al-Dīn al-Ṣafāqusī; Qiwām al-Dīn al-Kir- 92 mānī, whose dwelling place was on top of the roof of the al-Azhar mosque. He had a company of jurists and Qur'ān-readers always in attendance on him, and he taught various branches of theology and gave decisions on points of law according to the different schools. His dress was a coarse woollen mantle and a black woollen turban. It was his custom to go, when the afternoon prayer was over, to places of amusement and entertainments, unaccompanied by his disciples. Besides these there were the Sayyid Sharīf Shams al-Dīn, son of the daughter of the Ṣāḥib Tāj al-Dīn b. Hannā'; the Grand Shaikh of the Poor Brethren in Egypt,

[178] Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī known as Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, Ḥanafī Grand Qāḍī of Cairo 1328–38, d. 1344 (*Durar*, I, 46–7).

[179] Zain al Dīn 'Alī b. Makhlūf al-Nuwairī, the predecessor of al-Akhnā'ī, d. 1318 (*Durar*, III, 127–8).

Majd al-Dīn al-Aqṣarā'ī, whose designation is derived from Aqṣarā in the land of Rūm [Anatolia], and who lives in Siryāquṣ; the Shaikh Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥuwaizā'ī (al-Ḥuwaizā is distant three days' journey from Baṣra); the marshal of the sharīfs in Egypt, the revered Sayyid Sharīf Badr [93] | al-Dīn al-Ḥusainī, one of the most pious of men; the intendant of the treasury and lecturer in the mausoleum of the Imām al-Shāfi'ī, Majd al-Dīn Ḥarmī, and the Muḥtasib of Cairo, Najm al-Dīn al-Sahartī, one of the principal jurists, who enjoys a great position of leadership and prestige in Cairo.[180]

The day of the Maḥmil at Cairo. This is the day of the procession of the *Maḥmil*[181] round [the city], a festival day.

[180] Most of the scholars mentioned are identifiable and the more important are:

Shams al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī, Abu'l-Thanā' Maḥmūd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, born at Iṣfahān 1285, d. 1349, one of the most notable scholars of his age. He cannot, however, have been in Cairo at this time, as he was professor at the Rawāḥīya College at Damascus, 1325–32 (*Durar*, IV, 327–8).

Sharaf al-Dīn al-Zawāwī, 'Īsā b. Mas'ūd b. Manṣūr, 1266–1342, the leading Mālikī jurist of his age (*Durar*, III, 210).

Rukn al-Dīn b. al-Qawba', Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 1265–1338, physician and poet (*Durar*, IV, 181–4).

Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn 'Adlān, 1262–1348, judge of the army under al-Malik al-Nāṣir (*Durar*, III, 333).

Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn 'Aqīl, 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 1295–1367, famous grammarian (*Durar*, II, 266).

Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī, 1250-1344, another famous grammarian (*Durar*, IV, 302–10, and biography in the edition of his work *Manhaj al-Sālik*, by S. Glazer (New Haven, 1947)).

Majd al-Dīn 'Īsā al-Aqṣarā'ī, d. 1339, shaikh of the Nāṣirīya Khānka (see p. 43, n. 129).

The Sharīf Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥusainī, al-Ḥasan b. 'Izz al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, 1297–1342 (*Durar*, II, 12). His grandfather, father and son also held the office of Naqīb al-Ashrāf (see p. 258, n. 50).

Majd al-Dīn Ḥarmī b. Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf, Shāfi'ite jurist and Treasurer, d. 1334 (*Durar*, II, 8).

Najm al-Dīn al-Sahartī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī of Is'ird (colloquially pronounced Sahart, now Siirt in Anatolia), appointed muḥtasib in 1320 and died in office in 1336 (Zetterstéen, 171, 193), cf. p. 219, n. 130.

For the Ṣāḥib Tāj al-Dīn b. Hannā', see p. 60, n. 186.

[181] The *Maḥmil* (colloquially pronounced *maḥmal*) is an empty litter with a pyramidal top covered with embroidered brocade and decorated with ornaments of gold or silver and jewels, which was sent annually from Cairo, to accompany the pilgrim caravan to Mecca and back. Similar *Maḥmils* have been sent from other countries at various times, but that from Egypt has always held the place of honour. The procession here described was the first of three annual processions of the *Maḥmil*, about the middle of Rajab, afterwards held a month later, and discontinued after the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1517. The main ceremony, still observed, was in the month

Their ceremonial on this day is as follows. The four Grand Qāḍīs, the Intendant of the Treasury, and the Muḥtasib (all of whom we have mentioned above) are mounted, and along with them ride the principal jurists, the syndics of the heads of corporations,[182] and the officers of state. They all proceed together to the gate of the citadel, the residence of al-Malik al-Nāṣir, whereupon the *maḥmil* comes out to meet them, borne on a camel, | and preceded by the amīr who has been 94 designated for the journey to the Ḥijāz in that year.[183] With him are his troops [184] and a number of water-carriers mounted on their camels. All classes of the population, both men and women, assemble for this ceremony, then they go in procession with the *maḥmil* round the two cities of al-Qāhira and Miṣr [al-Fusṭāṭ], accompanied by all those whom we have mentioned, and with the camel-drivers singing to their camels in the lead. This takes place in Rajab, and thereupon resolves are inflamed, desires are excited, and impulses are stirred up, and God Most High casts into the heart of whom He will of His servants the determination to set out upon the Pilgrimage, so they start to equip themselves and to make preparations for it.

Next came my journey from Cairo by the route of the Ṣa'īd, with the object of [crossing to] the noble Ḥijāz.[185] I

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of Shawwāl, on the departure of the pilgrim caravan. For the history, detail, and significance of the *Maḥmil* see Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, J. Jomier, *Le Mahmal* (Cairo, 1953); *E.I.*, s.v. Maḥmal. It is scarcely possible that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa should have himself witnessed this procession since during the whole of Rajab in this year 726 (1326) he was on his way to and from 'Aidhāb, and by Shawwāl was already on his way from Damascus to Mecca; while on his visit to Cairo in 749 (vol. IV, 324) he states that the Rajab caravan had already left before his arrival.

[182] Text *'Umanā' ar ru'asā'*.

[183] The office of *Amīr al-Ḥajj*, 'Commander of the Pilgrimage', although held only for the period of the annual journey to and from Mecca, was regarded as one of the most honourable offices of state, and after the early Caliphate was always held by princes of the royal house. The *Amīr al-Ḥajj* was also responsible for the safety of the caravan from bedouin raiders on its way to and from Mecca and Madīna.

[184] These mamlūks engaged in mock fights, to the great delight of the citizens, but in later years the fights degenerated and were stopped [illegible]

[185] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa must have set out from Cairo not later than the middle of [illegible] Jumādā 726 (c. 20 May 1326). He states above (p. 18) that he reached Alexandria on 1st First Jumādā (5 April), and below [illegible] that he arrived back in Cairo in the middle of Sha'bān (c. 15 July). Ibn Juzayy [illegible]

stayed on the night following my departure at the convent which the Ṣāḥib Tāj al-Dīn ibn Ḥannā' built at Dair al-Tīn.[186] It is an enormous convent built by him for the sake of certain possessions of great pride and illustrious relics that he deposited in it, namely, a fragment of the wooden basin of the Prophet (God's blessing and peace upon him), the pencil 95 with which | he used to apply *kohl* to his eyes, the *dirafsh*, that is to say, the awl, which he used for sewing his sandals, and the Qur'ān of the Commander of the Faithful 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, written in his own hand (God be pleased with him). The Ṣāḥib, it is said, bought the illustrious relics of the Prophet which we have mentioned for a thousand dirhams, and built the convent, and endowed it with funds to supply food to all comers and goers and to maintain the guardians of these sacred relics—God Most High profit him by his blessed purpose.

After leaving this convent I passed by Munyat al-Qā'id, a small village on the bank of the Nile,[187] and from there I went on to the town of Būsh.[188] This town is the chief centre of the Egyptian linen industry, and it is exported thence to all parts of Egypt and to Africa.[189] After leaving this place I reached the town of Dalāṣ; this town also is a centre of the linen

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days from Cairo to Qūṣ travelling by boat, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, travelling by land on the west bank, must have taken about the same time to reach Edfū. He then spent fifteen days on the journey from Edfū to 'Aidhāb, and after a short stay there returned to Qūṣ, another fifteen days at least (Ibn Jubair took nineteen days from Qūṣ to 'Aidhāb). The journey downstream from Qūṣ to Cairo was made in eight days, in the flood season. Thus the round trip occupied (not allowing for halts of more than a day) 18 + 15 + ? + 15 + 8 = at least 56 days.

[186] A village and monastery still existing on the right bank of the Nile about two miles south of Old Cairo. Tāj al-Dīn (1243–1307) was one of the first viziers of the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir (hence his title of al-Ṣāḥib); his father and grandfathers were also former viziers in Egypt (*Durar*, IV, 201–2).

[187] On the left bank of the river, in the district of Gīza (Ibn Duqmāq, IV, 132)—perhaps the place now called Mīnā al-Amīr, seven miles south of Gīza.

[188] Būsh and Dalāṣ (the latter north of the former, so that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has inverted the order) lie close together between al-Wasṭa and Beni-Suēf, at the outlet of the Fayyūm, which was the chief flax-growing district in Egypt. The linens of Būsh were always celebrated; Dalāṣ on the other hand is mentioned by Idrīsī (ed. Dozy and de Goeje, 51) as a centre of iron manufactures.

[189] See p. 10, n. 5.

industry, like that we have just mentioned, | and from there 96 too it is carried to [all parts of] Egypt and to Africa. Thence I continued my journey to the town of Bibā,[190] and from there to the town of al-Bahnasa which is a large town, with extensive gardens, and in which are manufactured excellent woollen fabrics.[191] Amongst those whom I met there was the learned qāḍī, Sharaf al-Dīn, a noble-minded and worthy man, and I met there also the pious shaikh Abū Bakr al-'Ajamī, with whom I lodged and who made me his guest. Thence I went on to the town of Munyat Ibn Khaṣīb, a widely spaced town covering an extensive area, and built on the bank of the Nile.[192] And in truth, in truth, it excels all the other towns of the Ṣa'īd, having colleges and sanctuaries, religious houses and mosques. In ancient times it was a village belonging to Khaṣīb, the governor of Egypt. |

The story of Khaṣīb.[193] It is told that one of the caliphs of 97 the house of al-'Abbās (God be pleased with them), angered with the people of Egypt, swore to appoint as governor over them the most contemptible and abject of his slaves, with the object of humiliating them and inflicting upon them a signal punishment. Now Khaṣīb was the lowest of the slaves, since he was charged with the duty of heating the bath.[194] The caliph conferred upon him a robe of honour and made him

[190] Called by Ibn Duqmāq Bibā al-Kubrā, now Bibba al-Kubrā, 15 miles south of Beni Suêf.

[191] Bahnasa, the ancient Oxyrhynchus, was associated by Muslim legend with the sojourn of the Holy Family in Egypt. It is situated not on the main Nile, but on the old branch or canal which leads to the Fayyūm, now called Baḥr Yūsuf.

[192] The modern Minya, half-way between Beni Suêf and Asyûṭ. Ibn Duqmāq (V, 21–2) also says of it: 'There is no finer town in Upper Egypt . . . with markets, covered bazaars and abundance of goods and textiles, yielding 1000 dirhams a day in taxes, a fine large mosque, three bath-houses, khāns, and many villas on the bank of the Nile. In short, I know no town in Upper Egypt more prosperous nor more full of oppression.'

[193] This is an odd deformation of history into legend. Al-Khaṣīb b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd belonged to the Persian aristocracy, took service in the chancery of the 'Abbāsid caliphs, and was appointed finance director of Egypt in 803. His liberality attracted many poets to Egypt, amongst them being Abū Nuwās one of the most celebrated Arab poets; and the verse cited below is in fact taken from one of several panegyrics addressed by Abū Nuwās to al-Khaṣīb in Egypt.

[194] The office of bath-warmer appeared the more degraded that in the East, and particularly in Egypt, where wood is scarce, dried dung is generally used for stoking the baths (note by Defrémery and Sanguinetti).

amīr over Egypt, thinking that he would conduct himself towards them in an evil manner and seek occasions to injure them, as usually happens in the case of those who are given authority with no previous experience of high office. When, however, Khaṣīb found himself settled in Egypt, he conducted himself towards its inhabitants with the utmost magnanimity, and acquired a name for liberality and openhandedness. The relatives of the caliphs, amongst others, used to visit him, when he would make them munificent gifts, and they returned to Baghdād full of gratitude for his generosity towards them. The story goes on that the caliph re-
98 marked the absence | of a certain member of the 'Abbāsid family, and that he was away from him for some time and then came back. So the caliph asked him the reason of his absence, and he told him that he had gone to visit Khaṣīb, and stated what Khaṣīb had given him, which was a considerable gift. The caliph was enraged, and commanded that Khaṣīb should have his eyes put out, be fetched up from Egypt to Baghdād, and thrown into the bazaars there.

When the order to arrest him arrived, he was denied entrance into his house, but he had on his hand a jewel of great value, which he hid on his person and sewed up by night into one of his garments. After he had suffered the loss of his eyes and was thrown into the bazaars of Baghdād, he was accosted by a certain poet who said to him, 'O Khaṣīb, I went from Baghdād to seek you in Egypt, in order to sing your praises in an ode, but my arrival there happened to coincide with your departure; still I should like you to hear it'. 'What use is there in my hearing it', exclaimed Khaṣīb, 'when I am as you see me?' 'All that I want', said the poet, |
99 'is that you should hear it; as for the gift, you have given to others, and that lavishly—God reward you with good'. 'Go on then', said he, and the poet recited:

> Khaṣīb, the fruitful to bestow, by Egypt's Nile alights;
> Let high the golden tide o'erflow, since sea with sea unites.[195]

[195] The verse runs literally 'Thou art al-Khaṣīb and this is Miṣr—overflow then both, since each of you is a sea'. The point of the word play is that *khaṣīb* in Arabic means 'fertile, abundant', and as applied to a man 'generous'. The Nile is always called in Arabic *al-baḥr*, 'the sea'.

When he came to the end of the ode, Khaṣīb said to him, 'Unpick this piece of sewing', and when he had done so bade him take the jewel. He refused, but Khaṣīb adjured him to take it, so he took it and went off with it to the jewellers' bazaar. When he displayed it to them they said 'Such a jewel is fitting for none but the caliph'; they brought it therefore to the notice of the caliph, who commanded that the poet should be sent for, and questioned him on the subject of the jewel. The poet told him the story of it, whereupon the caliph repented of what he had done to Khaṣīb, and commanding him to be brought into his presence, gave him a large sum of money and bade him choose what he would like. He requested the caliph to give him this village, the request was granted, | and Khaṣīb lived in it until his death, bequeathing it to his descendants until they became extinct. 100

The qāḍī of this Munya at the time of my arrival there was Fakhr al-Dīn al-Nuwairī al-Mālikī[196] and its governor was Shams al-Dīn, an excellent and generous amīr. One day I entered the bath-house in this township, and found the men in it wearing no covering. This appeared a shocking thing to me, and I went to the governor and informed him of it. He told me not to leave and ordered the lessees of [all] the bath-houses to be brought before him. Articles were formally drawn up [there and then] making them subject to penalties if any person should enter a bath without a waist-wrapper, and the governor behaved to them with the greatest severity, after which I took leave of him.

From Munyat ibn Khaṣīb I travelled to the town of Manlāwī, a small place built at a distance of two miles from the Nile.[197] The qāḍī there was the jurist Sharaf al-Dīn al-Damīrī | al-Shāfi'ī, and its principal inhabitants are a clan known as the Banū Fuḍail, one of whom built a congregational mosque which cost him the core of his wealth. In this town there are eleven sugar presses, and it is one of their customs never to hinder an indigent person from going into any pressing shed, so a poor man will come with a piece of warm bread and throw it into the vat in which the sugar is 101

[196] Probably related to the former Mālikite Grand Qāḍī; see p. 57, n. 179.
[197] Now Mallawī, and so written by Ibn Duqmāq (V, 21).

being cooked, and then pick it out again soaked with sugar and go off with it.

From this place Manlāwī I went on to the town of Manfalūṭ,[198] a town of pleasant appearance and elegant construction, on the bank of the Nile, and of celebrated sanctity.

Anecdote. The people of this town told me that al-Malik al-Nāṣir (God's mercy upon him) gave orders for the construction of a large mimbar[199] of solid workmanship and admirable 102 style, which was intended for | the Sacred Mosque [of Mecca] (God increase it in nobility and veneration). When it was completed, he gave orders that it should be taken up the Nile, in order to be transported to the sea of Judda, and then on to Mecca (God ennoble her). But when the vessel which carried it reached Manfalūṭ and drew level with its congregational mosque, it stopped and refused to proceed, in spite of the assistance of the wind. Those on board were intensely amazed at its behaviour, and as they stayed there for several days while the boat refused to move with them, they wrote an account of the incident to al-Malik al-Nāṣir (God's mercy upon him). He ordered that mimbar to be placed in the congregational mosque of the town of Manfalūṭ, which was done, and I saw it there with my own eyes.

In this town there is manufactured a kind of honey, which they extract from wheat and call *naidā*;[200] it is sold in the bazaars of Cairo.

I travelled from this town to the town of Asyūṭ,[201] a hand-103 some town with choice bazaars. | Its qāḍī was Sharaf al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, known far and wide by the nickname of 'Revenue Nil', which originated in this way. The qāḍīs in Egypt and Syria administer the *waqfs*[202] and alms for the

[198] Manfalūṭ, fifteen miles north of Asyūṭ, was the military headquarters of Upper Egypt (Ibn Duqmāq, V, 22).

[199] The *mimbar* is the tall pulpit, with a flight of steps leading to the platform from which the formal allocutions are delivered at the congregational Friday prayers.

[200] A sweet confection made by soaking the grain for a few days, then drying and pounding it, after which it is cooked to a certain heat in water. Savary (Eng. trans. II, 2-3) describes the same conserve, under the same name, made at Manshia: 'melting, sweet, and very nutritive.'

[201] Asyūṭ was the residence of the Governor-General of Upper Egypt, according to Ibn Duqmāq, although Ibn Baṭṭūṭa places his residence at Qūṣ.

[202] A *waqf* is a charitable endowment, dedicated to a special purpose in

benefit of travellers. When a poor man comes to any of the towns, he goes to the qāḍī of the place, who gives him whatever amount is assigned to him. Now this qāḍī, when any poor person applied to him, used to say to him 'Revenue nil', that is, there is nothing left of the money produced by the endowments. So he came to be called by this nickname and it stuck to him. Amongst the worthy shaikhs in this town was the pious Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, who received me as a guest in his convent.

Thence I journeyed to the town of Ikhmīm,[203] which is a place, solidly built and of imposing appearance. Here is the *berbā* which is known by the name of the town. It is built of stones, and in the interior there are sculptures and writing of the ancients, which is not understood in these days, | [104] and images of the spheres and stars. They assert that it was built when the Flying Eagle was in the sign of the Scorpion. It contains also images of animals and other things, and the people tell a number of fanciful stories, over which it is not necessary to linger, on the subject of these images. There was at Ikhmīm a man known as the Preacher, who ordered the destruction of one of these *berbās* and built a college with its stones. He was a wealthy man, well known for his liberal charity, and his detractors say that he acquired the riches which he possessed by his continual haunting of this *berbā*. I stopped in this town in the convent of the Shaikh Abu'l-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, in which is the tomb of his grandfather 'Abd al-Ẓāhir.[204] He has several brothers, Nāṣir al-Dīn, Majd al-Dīn, and Wāḥid al-Dīn, and it is their custom to meet together after the congregational Friday prayer, along with the preacher Nūr al-Dīn of whom I have just spoken, his sons, the qāḍī of the town | [105] (the jurist Mukhliṣ), and the

perpetuity from the revenues of a parcel of land or immovable property, and administered by a supervisor.

[203] Akhmīm, the ancient Khemmis or Panopolis, on the bend of the Nile east of Sohag. Its ancient Egyptian temple (*berbā*) is described in all medieval works, although it was already in ruins by this time, chiefly because it was associated with Hermes the Great (see above p. 51, n. 158). It is noteworthy that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa does not mention any of the other *berbās* in Upper Egypt, even at Luxor (see p. 67, n. 212).

[204] 'Abd al-Ẓāhir b. 'Abd al-Walī, a descendant of Ja'far, the brother of 'Alī (see p. 179, n. 88). The persons named were his descendants in the sixth generation (*Durar*, III, 21).

other leading citizens, when they 'seal' the Qur'ān and recite hymns of praise to God until the time of the afternoon prayer. When they finish this prayer, they read the chapter of the Cave[205] and then disperse.

I continued on my way from Ikhmīm to the town of Hū,[206] a large town on the bank of the Nile, where I stayed at the college of Taqī al-Dīn ibn al-Sarrāj. I saw them reciting there every day after the dawn prayer a section of the Qur'ān and afterwards reciting the devotions of Shaikh Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī and the 'Litany of the Sea'.[207] In this town lives the Sayyid Sharīf Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh al-Ḥasanī, one of the saintliest of men.[208]

A miracle of his. I went to visit this Sharīf, for the sake of the blessing conferred by seeing and greeting him. When he asked me what I proposed to do, and I told him that I intended to make the Pilgrimage to the Holy House by way of Judda, he replied 'You will not succeed in doing that on this 106 occasion. Go back, | for you will make your first Pilgrimage by the Syrian Road and no other.' So I took leave of him; but instead of acting upon his advice I continued on my way until I got to 'Aidhāb, and then, as I could not manage to complete the journey, I turned back and retraced my steps to Cairo, and from there on to Syria. and my route on the first of my Pilgrimages was indeed along the Syrian Road, just as the Sharīf had told me (God profit us by him).

I went on next to the town of Qinā, a small place with agreeable bazaars.[209] In it is the tomb of the pious sharīf and saint, 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Qināwī, author of many marvellous proofs [of sanctity] and celebrated miracles. I saw in the Saifīya College there his grandson Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad.

From this township I continued my journey to the town of Qūṣ, a large town furnished with all manner of good things,

[205] The 18th sūra of the Qur'ān, which contains the story of the Seven Sleepers.

[206] Hū, formerly Diospolis Parva, on the bend of the Nile halfway between Girga and Qinā.

[207] See p. 25 above.

[208] Not identified

[209] Ibn Duqmāq (V, 33) describes Qinā as a large town, famous for the number of religious leaders that it had produced, and its cemetery was visited by pilgrims from all parts.

whose fruit gardens are leafy and bazaars are elegant, and which boasts many mosques and storied colleges. It is the seat of residence of the governors of the Ṣa'īd.[210] In its outskirts is the convent of Shaikh Shihāb al-Dīn | b. 'Abd al-Ghaffār *107* and the convent of al-Afram, in which there is held every year in the month of Ramaḍān a gathering of Poor Brethren who have renounced all the goods and pleasures of this world. Amongst the men of learning there are the qāḍī of the town, Jamāl al-Dīn b. al-Sadīd, and its preacher Fat'ḥ al-Dīn b. Daqīq al-'Īd, one of those elegant and eloquent orators who are pre-eminent in their mastery of language.[211] I never met anyone who could rival him except the Preacher of the Sacred Mosque [at Mecca], Bahā al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, and the preacher of the city of Khwārizm, Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Mashshāṭī, both of whom will be mentioned in due course. Other scholars of note in Qūṣ are the jurist Bahā al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, professor in the Mālikite college, and the jurist Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Andalusī, who is the director of a fine convent.

Thence I travelled to the town of al-Aqṣur (Luxor), a pretty little place containing the tomb of the pious ascetic Abu'l-Ḥajjāj al-Aqṣurī, beside which there is a convent,[212] and from there to | the town of Armant, a small place with fruit gar- *108* dens, built on the bank of the Nile.[213] I was the guest of the qāḍī there, but have forgotten his name.

From there I continued my journey to the town of Asnā, which is a large town of broad streets and vast resources, with numerous religious houses, colleges and mosques, and

[210] Ibn Duqmāq (V, 28) states that it was the residence of the military commander of the Ṣa'īd, although he had already used the same phrase about Manfalūṭ (see p. 64, nn. 198 and 201). He mentions sixteen colleges at Qūṣ; the same figure is given by al-Adfawī (fol. 7a), as compared with three in Aswān and two at Qinā.

[211] Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. al-Sadīd al-Isnā'ī, 1279–c. 1342 (*Durar*, IV, 36: calls him preacher at Qūṣ). Ibn Ḥajar mentions no Fat'ḥ al-Dīn, but Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Othmān b. Muḥammad Ibn Daqīq al-'Īd, d. 1326/7, a professor at Qūṣ (*Durar*, IV, 43).

[212] Abu'l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. 'Arabī al-Qurashī (d. 1244) was a pupil of the Moroccan saint al-Jazūlī. His tomb still stands inside a mosque in the ruined temple of Amenophis III, on the site of an earlier sanctuary.

[213] The site of the famous temple of the hawk-headed god Mentu, which is described in considerable detail by Ibn Duqmāq (V, 29).

possessing good bazaars and well-stocked fruit gardens.[214] Its qāḍī is the Grand Qāḍī Shihāb al-Dīn b. Maskīn, who not only made me the recipient of his own hospitality and liberality, but also wrote to his deputies recommending me to their good offices. Among the worthies there were the pious shaikh Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī and the pious shaikh 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Miknāsī, who is at the present time the superior of a convent at Qūṣ.

I went on from there to the town of Adfū, between which 109 and Asnā is | a day and a night's journey through desert country.[215] Then, crossing the Nile from the town of Adfū to that of al-'Aṭwānī, we hired camels from there and set out with a party of Arabs, known as Daghīm (or Dughaim), through a desert totally devoid of settlements but quite safe for travelling.[216] At one of our halts on the way we encamped at Ḥumaithirā, the site of the tomb of the saint Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, whose miraculous foretelling that he would die there we have related above.[217] The place is infested with hyenas, and during the night of our stay there we were continually occupied in driving them off. Indeed one of the animals got at my baggage, ripped up a camel-sack which was amongst it, dragged out a small skin of dates and made off with it. We found the skin when we rose next morning, torn to pieces and with most of the contents eaten.

At length, after travelling for fifteen days [through the desert], we reached the town of 'Aidhāb, a large town, well 110 supplied with fish | and milk;[218] dates and grain are imported

[214] The district of Isnā (Esnā) was noted for its production of dates and raisins, and the town itself, according to Ibn Duqmāq (V, 30), had 13,000 houses and two colleges.

[215] This phrase is puzzling, especially as Ibn Duqmāq (V, 29) refers to its flourishing region. 'Aṭwānī does not seem to be mentioned by the geographers.

[216] A tribe of unknown Arab origin; see H. A. MacMichael, *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan* (Cambridge, 1922), I, 332.

[217] See p. 24 above. For Ḥumaithirā see J. Ball, *Geography of South-eastern Egypt* (1912), 32 (with plate V) and 85–6; J. Couyat, 'Les routes d'Aidhab' (*Bull. de l'Inst. franç. d'Archéologie Orientale*, VIII, 135–43).

[218] From the eleventh to the fourteenth century 'Aidhāb was the terminal port for the maritime trade with the Yemen and India and a place of great importance. It was destroyed by the Sultan of Egypt in 1426, and its place taken by the rival port of Sawākin (Suakin). Its ruins have been identified by G. W. Murray, *Geogr. J.*, LXVIII (1926), 235–40, 'on a flat and waterless mound' on the Red Sea coast, 12 miles north of Halaib, at 22° 20′ N., 36° 29′ 32″ E.

from Upper Egypt. Its inhabitants are the Bujāh, black-skinned people, who wrap themselves in yellow blankets and tie headbands, each about a fingerbreadth wide, round their heads.[219] They give daughters no share in their inheritance.[220] Their food is camel's milk and they ride on *mahrī* dromedaries, which they call by the name of *ṣuhb*.[221] One-third of the city belongs to [the Sultan of Egypt] al-Malik al-Nāṣir, and two-thirds to the king of the Bujāh, who is called al-Ḥadrabi.[222] In the town of 'Aidhāb there is a mosque, attributed to al-Qasṭallānī,[223] famous for its blessed power; I saw it and visited it to profit by its blessing. In this town too live the pious shaikh Mūsā and the aged shaikh Muḥammad al-Marrākushī, who declares that he is a son of al-Murtaḍā, the king of Marrākush, and that he is ninety-five years of age.[224]

On reaching 'Aidhāb we found that al-Ḥadrabī, the sultan of the Bujāh, was engaged in hostilities with the Turks,[225] that he had sunk the ships, | and the Turks had fled before him. It was impossible for us to make the sea-crossing, so we sold the provisions that we had made ready, and returning to Upper Egypt with the Arabs from whom we had hired the camels, arrived back at the town of Qūṣ, which has already been mentioned. We sailed thence down the Nile (it was the flood season), and after a passage of eight nights from Qūṣ arrived at Cairo.

[219] These are the Bejas, who were still for the most part pagans at this period; see J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in the Sudan* (1949), 10–12 and 58 n. 5.

[220] According to the explicit text of the Qur'ān, daughters have specified shares in the inheritance, but if there are sons the share of each son is twice that of each daughter.

[221] The dromedaries of Mahra in Southern Arabia were the fastest riding camels; the breed referred to here by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa are the reddish-white Bishārī camels, see J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia* (London, 1819), 503.

[222] The Ḥadrabī or Ḥadrubī tribe was said to be of Arab origin, who made their capital at Kinā near 'Aidhāb; but the plural Ḥadāriba is used earlier of the Bejas as a whole. One of the eastern branches of the Hadendoa is still called by the same name, and claims descent from the old ruling family.

[223] Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tawzarī al-Qasṭallānī (1217–87) was a noted ṣūfī shaikh; Subki, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, V, 18; Tallqvist, *Geschichte der Ikhshiden*, 106.

[224] Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Murtaḍā was the twelfth sovereign of the Almohads of Morocco; he reigned 1248–66.

[225] The mamlūk troops of the Sultan of Egypt.

FIG. 1.
IBN BAṬṬŪṬA'S ITINERARY IN SYRIA

CHAPTER II

Syria

I STAYED only one night in Cairo before setting out for Syria. This was in the middle of Sha'bān of the year 26.[1] I then travelled to the town of Balbais; it is a large town with many fruit-gardens,[2] but I did not see there anyone whom I should wish[3] to mention. I came next to al-Ṣāliḥīya,[4] after which we entered the sands and halted at the post-stations on the way through, such as al-Sawāda, al-Warrāda, al-Muṭailib, al-'Arīsh, and al-Kharrūba.[5] | At each of these 111 stations there is a hostelry (*funduq*), which they call a *khān*,[6] where travellers alight with their beasts, and outside each *khān* is a public watering-place[7] and a shop at which the

[1] Sha'bān 726 = 3–31 July 1326.

[2] The well-known town, usually spelled Bilbais, thirty-three miles north-east from Cairo (10 farsakhs according to the Arabic roadbooks), situated at the edge of the Delta and hence from early times the main fortress protecting the Delta from attack from the east. It was at this time a flourishing city, capital of the province of Sharqīya, and the headquarters of a military command.

[3] The text has *nuḥibbu*—the first of several clear cases of Moroccan colloquial usage in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's narrative.

[4] The old route from Bilbais direct to al-Faramā (Pelusium) was superseded at this time by the route here described. Al-Ṣāliḥīya was founded by the Ayyūbid sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb (reigned 1240–9), great-nephew of Saladin, as a frontier fortress. The region of 'the sands' up to the frontier at Rafaḥ was called al-Jifār; see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks* (Paris, 1923), 6–7.

[5] The correct order is Qaṭyā (see below), al-Muṭailib, al-Sawāda, al-Warrāda, al-'Arīsh, al-Kharrūba, according to the list of post-stations given in the works of Mamlūk administration; e.g. Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*, tr. J. Gaulmier (Beyrouth, 1950), 201. Al-Kharrūba was on the Egyptian frontier close by Rafah. The postal system in Egypt and Syria, reorganized by the Mamlūk Baibars for official despatches and the transport of snow to Egypt, has been studied by J. Sauvaget, *La poste aux chevaux dans l'empire des Mamelouks* (Paris, 1941).

[6] A hostelry (*funduq*, *khān*, or *karawānsarāy*) is usually a square walled building enclosing a courtyard; beasts and baggage are lodged in the lower story, and travellers in the upper story.

[7] *Sāniya li's-sabīl*: according to the glossary in Dozy and de Goeje,

traveller may buy what he requires for himself and his beast. Amongst these stations is the well-known place called Qaṭyā,[8] which the people pronounce Qaṭya, where *zakāt* is collected from the merchants,[9] their goods are examined, and their baggage most rigorously searched. There are government offices here, with officers, clerks, and notaries, and its daily revenue is a thousand gold dinars.[10] No one may pass this place in the direction of Syria[11] without a passport from Egypt, nor into Egypt without a passport from Syria, as a measure of protection for a person's property and of precaution against spies from 'Irāq.[12] This road is under guarantee of the bedouins (that is to say, they have been made responsible for guarding it). At nightfall they smooth down 113 the sand so that no | mark is left on it, then the governor comes in the morning and examines the sand. If he finds any track on it he requires the Arabs to fetch the person who made it, and they set out in pursuit of him and never fail to catch him.[13] They then bring him to the governor, who punishes him as he sees fit.

[The governor] at Qaṭyā, at the time of my reaching it, was 'Izz al-Dīn, the Ustādh al-Dār, Aqmārī,[14] one of the best

Description de l'Afrique . . . par Edrîsî, 522, this means a public fountain similar to the modern *sabîl*. But Ibn Baṭṭūṭa probably means a *sāniya* in its more usual sense of a well from which water is raised by a wheel turned by a camel.

[8] According to Yāqūt, Qaṭyā was largely a collection of huts, near al-Faramā, the ancient Pelusium, on the coast eastward from the Suez Canal.

[9] *Zakāt*, the canonical alms tax, was exacted on the gold and silver carried by merchants entering Egypt, at the rate of five per cent (Qalqashandī, III, 461). But in addition they were required to pay customs according to a regular schedule on all goods, and al-Qalqashandī (*ibid.* 470) describes Qaṭyā as 'producing the largest yield of all points of entry, and the most harassing for the merchants'.

[10] The standard weight of the gold *dīnār* was 65.3 grains or 4.23 grammes, but the Mamlūk coinage presents wide variations.

[11] The text has, by mistake, 'from Syria'.

[12] For the specimen of the text of a passport see Sauvaget, *La poste*, 45. On the permanent hostility between the Mamlūks and the Mongol rulers of 'Iraq and Persia see below, p. 108.

[13] The skill of the Arab trackers in al-Jifār is noted also by the geographer Yāqūt. Qalqashandī (XIV, 378) also describes the smoothing of the sand at nightfall and the setting of Arab guards at Qaṭyā.

[14] The ustādh al-dār (ustādār) or majordomo had charge of the sultan's household and commanded his escort, but frequently held a military command in the provinces. I have not identified 'Izz al-Dīn Aqmārī.

of the amīrs. He showed me hospitality, treated me honourably, and gave free passage to those who were with me. On his staff was the inspector 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Maghribī, who was familiar with the Maghribins and their lands, and whose duty it was to ask of each of them who arrived from what country he came, so that there might be no doubt as to their identity; for the Maghribins are allowed to pass through Qaṭyā without hindrance.

From there we went on to the town of Ghazza (Gaza), which is the first of the towns of Syria on the borders of Egypt, a place of spacious dimensions and large | population, 114 with fine bazaars. It contains numerous mosques, and there is no wall round it. There was formerly a fine congregational mosque in the town. The mosque in which the Friday service is now held there was built by the illustrious amīr al-Jāwalī; it is an elegant building of solid construction and its mimbar is made of white marble.[15] The qāḍī of Ghazza was Badr al-Dīn of Salkhad in Ḥawrān, and the professor of its madrasa 'Alam al-Dīn b. Sālim. The Sālim family are the most notable inhabitants of this town, and one of them is Shams al-Dīn, the qāḍī of Jerusalem.

Next I travelled from Ghazza to the town of al-Khalīl [Hebron]—God bless and give peace to our Prophet and to him.[16] It is a town of small extent but high distinction and shining splendours, pleasant in outward appearance and admirable in inner quality, lying in the hollow of a valley. Its mosque is an elegant edifice, substantially built, of striking beauty and imposing height, and constructed of squared stones. In one angle of it there is a stone, one | of whose faces 115 measures thirty-seven spans.[17] It is said that Solomon (peace

[15] 'Alam al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd Sanjar b. 'Abdallāh al-Jāwalī (1255–1344), one of the principal amīrs of al-Malik al-Nāṣir and a scholar as well, noted for his many religious and other buildings during his term of governorship in Palestine (*Durar*, II, 170–2). His mosque at Gaza (al-Jāwalīya) built on the foundation of a crusaders' church is still in use, and bears an inscription with his name, dated 718 (1318); *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, XIV (Cairo 1954), no. 5400. The Shami'a mosque at Gaza also bears an inscription of his dated 714 (1315); *ibid.* no. 5339.

[16] Al-Khalīl is Hebron, and takes its Arabic name from the epithet of Abraham, i.e. the 'Friend of God'.

[17] The mosque at Hebron is a crusaders' church built on much older (possibly pre-Roman) foundations, some of whose stones fully bear out Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's statement. The cave is now blocked up, but cenotaphs of the Patriarchs and

be on him) commanded the *jinn* to build it.[18] In the interior of the mosque is the honourable and sanctified cave containing the tomb of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob—God's blessings upon our Prophet and on them—and facing them are three [other] tombs, which are those of their wives. To the right of the mimbar and adjoining the wall containing the *qibla*[19] is a place from which one descends by marble steps of solid construction into a narrow passage which leads to a marble-paved hall, containing cenotaphs of the three tombs, and one is told that these are exactly opposite the real tombs [beneath]. There used formerly to be in the same place a passage-way into the blessed cave, but it is now blocked up. I have gone down into this place several times.

Amongst the evidences related by the learned as proof of the fact that the three holy tombs are indeed there is [the following Tradition] which I have taken from the book of 'Alī b. Ja'far al-Rāzī entitled *Al-Musfir lil-Qulūb 'an ṣiḥḥat qabr 'Ibrāhīm wa 'Isḥāq wa-Ya'qūb* [that is to say, 'The unveiler to the hearts of the genuineness of the tomb of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob'].[20] He traces back this tradition | 116 to Abū Huraira, whose actual words are as follows. The Apostle of God (God's blessing and peace upon him) said: 'When I was transported on my night-journey to Jerusalem, Gabriel made me to pass by the tomb of Abraham and said, "Descend, and make a prayer of two prostrations, for this is the tomb of thy father Abraham". Then he made me to pass by Bethlehem and said, "Descend, and make a prayer of two prostrations, for here was born thy brother Jesus (peace be upon him)". Thereafter, he brought me to the Rock', and

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their wives still stand in small chapels on either side of the nave. The three tombs were opened by the crusaders in 1119 (*Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, 161; *Rec. hist. des croisades, occidentaux*, V, 302–14). For other Muslim descriptions of the sanctuary see G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (London, 1890), 309–24, with a plan.

[18] The *jinn* (genii) are a sub-celestial category of creatures akin to man, but created of fire, who are credited with superhuman powers. According to the Qur'ān they were made subject to Solomon, and 'made for him whatsoever he pleased, of lofty halls, and images, and dishes like tanks, and great cooking-vessels'.

[19] The *qibla* is the niche in the main hall of a mosque which indicates the direction of Mecca, towards which worshippers face in prayer.

[20] The author and the work have not been traced.

so on to the end of the Tradition.[21] When I met, [during my stay] in this town, the pious and aged professor, as well as imām and preacher, Burhān al-Dīn al-Ja'barī,[22] one of those saintly men who enjoy the favour of God, and of the foremost authorities [in the religious sciences], I questioned him as to the truth of al-Khalīl's grave (on him be peace) being there. He replied to me, 'All the scholars whom I have met accept as a certainty that these graves are the very graves of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (upon our Prophet and them be peace), and the graves of | their wives. No one raises objections to this 117 but followers of false doctrines; it is a tradition which has passed from father to son for generations and admits of no doubt.' It is also related that a certain imām went into this cave and as he stood by the tomb of Sarah an old man came in and said to him 'Which of these graves is the grave of Abraham?' The imām pointed to Abraham's grave, [I mean] the one which is known as his. Afterwards there entered in succession a young man, who asked him the same question and to whom he pointed it out, and a boy, who likewise asked him and received the same indication. The faqīh then said 'I attest that this is the tomb of Abraham (on him be peace) without any doubt', whereupon he entered the mosque, prayed in it, and departed on the following day.

Inside this mosque [there is shown] also the grave of Joseph (on him be peace),[23] and eastward of the sanctuary of al-Khalīl is the *turba* [funerary chapel] of Lot (on him be peace).[24] This is situated upon a high mound, from which one overlooks | the Ghawr of Syria.[25] Over his grave is a fine build- 118 ing, the grave itself being in a well-built and whitewashed

[21] *On the isrā'*, or night-journey of Muḥammad, see p. 77 n. 32 below. The visit to Hebron and Bethlehem on the way is apparently not found in the early versions of the tradition. Abū Huraira, upon whose authority the tradition confessedly rests, was a Badawi follower of Muḥammad during his last years, and an inexhaustible source of doubtful traditions, many of which have certainly been fathered on him.

[22] Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. 'Umar al-Ja'barī (c. 1245–1332) (*Durar*, I, 50–1)

[23] The putative tomb of Joseph is now shown in a separate exterior chapel (see Le Strange, *Palestine*, 325–6), the better-known tomb being at the village of Balāṭa (Sychem), close to 'Jacob's Well', south of Nāblus.

[24] Lot's tomb is at a distance of three miles to the east, at the village of Beni Nayim (Na'īm).

[25] The *Ghawr* is the 'sunken land', i.e. the rift valley.

chamber within, and there are no hangings over it. There too is the lake of Lot, which is salt, bitter water; it is said that it covers the site of the dwellings of 'the men of Lot'.[26]

In the vicinity of the *turba* of Lot is the Mosque al-Yaqīn,[27] which is situated upon a high hill and has a brightness and a glow which no other mosque possesses. There are no buildings near it except a single house, inhabited by its keeper. In this mosque, close by the door, there is a spot sunk in solid rock, in which there has been formed the figure of a *miḥrāb*,[28] only large enough to accommodate a single worshipper. It is said that Abraham prostrated himself in this spot in gratitude to God Most High on the destruction of the men of Lot, and the place where he prostrated himself moved and sank down a little way into the ground.

In the neighbourhood of this mosque is a cave containing 119 the tomb of | Fāṭima, daughter of al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī (upon them both be peace). At the head and foot of the grave are two slabs of marble, on one of which is written, engraved in a beautiful script: 'In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. To God is the Might and the Permanence, and to Him belongeth what He hath created and fashioned. Upon His creatures hath He decreed dissolution, and in the Apostle of God is an example [for mankind]. This is the tomb of Umm Salama Fāṭima daughter of al-Ḥusain (God be pleased with him)'.[29] On the other slab is engraved: 'Executed by Muḥammad b. Abū Sahl the engraver at Cairo'; and underneath this are these verses:

> One whose dear dwelling was my breast,
> Here, in the chill embrace of earth and stone,
> Hast thou, my plaint unheeding, laid to rest.

[26] The reference is, of course to the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, the 'men of Lot' implying in Arabic usage 'the men referred to in the story of Lot'.

[27] The 'Mosque of Conviction' is to the south of Beni Nayim. It was built in 963 on an existing pre-Islamic site, and received its name from the legend that Abraham, on seeing the destruction of the cities, exclaimed 'I bear witness, for the Word of the Lord is the Truth' (al-*Yaqīn*). See Z. Vilnay, *Legends of Palestine* (Philadelphia, 1932), 197–8.

[28] The ornamental niche which marks the *qibla* (see n. 19 above).

[29] For al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī see p. 46, n. 140. Fāṭima was noted as a traditionist and died about 728. The authorship of the lines is a problem, since she was predeceased by both of her husbands.

O grave of Fāṭima, daughter of Fāṭima's son,
Born of the shining stars of 'Alī's race,
O grave, what godly faith is now thine own,
What virtue, purity, and modest grace! |

I continued my journey thereafter from this town to al- 120 Quds [Jerusalem]. On my way there I visited the tomb of Yūnus [Jonah]—on him be peace—over which there is a great building and a mosque.[30] I visited also Bait Laḥm [Bethlehem], the birthplace of Jesus—on him be peace—where the trace of the palm trunk [is still to be seen] surmounted by a vast edifice.[31] The Christians regard it with intense veneration and hospitably entertain all who alight at it.

We then arrived at Bait al-Muqaddas (Jerusalem)—God ennoble it—third in excellence after the two sacred Mosques [of Mecca and al-Madīna], and the place of ascension of the Apostle of God—God bless him and give him peace—whence he was caught up into heaven.[32] The town is large and imposing, and built of squared stones. The pious and noble king Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn b. Aiyūb (God reward him with good on behalf of Islām) when he captured this city, destroyed a part of its wall, and subsequently al-Malik al-Ẓāhir [Baibars] completed | its demolition, for fear lest the Christians of the East should 121 occupy it and resist all assaults in it.[33] There was no water-

[30] The mosque of the Arab village of Ḥalḥūl, to the north of Hebron, the tomb was formerly attributed to Gad, the more famous tomb of Jonah being at Nebi Yūnus, on the ruins of Nineveh, east of Mosul.

[31] In the Qur'ānic version of the birth of Jesus 'the pains of travail caused her [Mary] to grasp the trunk of the palm-tree' (Sūra xix, 23); cf. T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, 100 and plate xv. The 'trace' is presumably the star-shaped mark still shown in the Chapel of the Nativity. The large building mentioned in the following sentence is the Church of the Nativity, as restored by the Byzantine emperor Manuel Comnenus in 1169.

[32] This reference is to the miraculous 'night journey' (*isrā'*) of Muḥammad in which he was transported to 'the farthest mosque' (*al-Masjid al-aqṣā*), traditionally identified with Jerusalem (see also p. 75, n. 21 above). The *isrā'* was followed by an 'ascension' (*mi'rāj*) when Muḥammad, mounting on the celestial steed Burāq, was accorded a vision of Heaven, see p. 49, n. 150.

[33] These facts, doubtless gathered by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa from oral tradition, seem to be quite inaccurate. There is no record of any destruction of the wall by Saladin (except in the course of the siege in 1187), and it was dismantled in 1219, during the 'Fifth Crusade', by order of al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam 'Īsā, prince of Damascus, Saladin's nephew. The present walls were built by the Ottoman Sultan Sulaimān 'the Magnificent' (1520–66).

course in this city in former times, and the water has been led into it in our own time by the amīr Saif al-Dīn Tankīz, the governor of Damascus.[34]

The Sacred Mosque. This is one of those surpassingly beautiful mosques which excite wonder and admiration. It is said that there is not upon the face of the earth a mosque larger than it. Its length from east to west is seven hundred and fifty-two cubits, measuring in royal cubits, and its breadth from south to north four hundred and thirty-five cubits.[35] It has many entrances on its three [outer] sides, but as for the southern side of it, I have no knowledge of more than one gateway in it, and that is the one from which the imām enters.[36] The entire mosque is an open court, unroofed 122 except for the mosque | al-Aqṣā; this has a roof of the utmost perfection of architecture and skill in execution, and is embellished with gold and brilliant colours.[37] There are other places as well in the mosque which are roofed over.

The Dome of the Rock. This is one of the most marvellous of buildings, of the most perfect in architecture and strangest in shape; it has been endowed with a plentiful share of loveliness, and has received a choice portion of every rare beauty. It stands on an elevation in the centre of the mosque and is reached by ascending a flight of marble steps. It has four doors. The court around it is also paved with marble, of excellent workmanship, and its interior likewise. Both on its exterior and inside it is adorned with such a variety of decorations and such brilliance of execution as to defy descrip-

[34] Saif al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd Tankīz, governor of Damascus from 1312 and governor-general of Syria from 1315 until June 1340, the greatest of the mamlūks of al-Malik al-Nāṣir, and a man of the highest probity and administrative capacity, died in July 1340, a month after his dismissal from office (*Durar*, I, 520–8; *Manhal*, 114–15).

[35] The site of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf or temple area is in fact an irregular quadrangle (west side 536 yd., east side 518 yd., north side 351 yd., south side 310 yd.). As the royal cubit measured about 26 in., the figures given above (E.–W. 543 yd., N.–S. 314 yd.) agree almost exactly with the west and south sides.

[36] Probably the 'double gate', the passage-way leading to which still runs underneath the Jāmi' al-Aqṣā, though the gate itself is now closed up.

[37] The mosque, or more properly the Jāmi', al-Aqṣā attached to the central part of the southern wall, is a composite building, the high Byzantine nave (seventh century) and semi-Gothic sevenfold porch (built in 1227) of which may be seen prominently in any photograph of the temple area.

tion. The greater part of this decoration is surfaced with gold, so that it glows like a mass of light and flashes with the gleam of lightning; the eyes of him who would gaze on its splendours are dazzled | and the tongue of the beholder finds no words to represent them. In the centre of the Dome is the blessed Rock of which mention is made in the Traditions, for the Prophet (God bless him and give him peace) ascended from it to heaven. It is a solid piece of rock, projecting about a man's height, and underneath it there is a cave the size of a small room and of about a man's height also, with steps leading down to it; in this there is the figure of a miḥrāb. Encircling the Rock are two grilles of excellent workmanship, completely enclosing it, one of them, that which is next to the Rock, being artistically constructed in iron, and the other of wood.[38] Within the Dome there is also a great iron buckler, which is hanging up there, and the people assert that it is the buckler of Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (God be pleased with him).[39]

Some of the gracious sanctuaries in the Holy City of Jerusalem. Among these there is, on the farther side | of the valley called the Valley of Jahannam, to the east of the town, and on a lofty hill there, a building which is said to mark the place whence Jesus (on him be peace) ascended to heaven.[40] Among these there is also the grave of Rābi'a al-Badawīya, who derives her designation from the bādiya or desert, and is a different person from the famous Rābi'a al-'Adawīya.[41] In the hollow of the valley already mentioned is a church venerated by the Christians, who say that it contains the grave of Mary (peace be upon her).[42] At Jerusalem also there is another venerated church to which the Christians come on

[38] The iron grille was constructed during the Crusaders' occupation of Jerusalem in the twelfth century.

[39] An uncle of Muḥammad, killed by the Meccan forces at the Battle of Uḥud in 625; see p. 181, n. 99.

[40] The Mosque of the Ascension, on the brow of the Mount of Olives, on the farther side of the valley of Jehoshaphat, here confused with the valley of Hinnom (Gehenna).

[41] Rābi'a (commonly called 'of Jerusalem') was the wife of a noted ṣūfī, Ibn Abi'l-Hawwārī (d. 860). Rābi'a al-'Adawīya was a famous woman saint who lived and died at Baṣra in 801, but who is sometimes said (owing to the confusion referred to here by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa) to have been buried in Jerusalem.

[42] St. Mary's Church, on the farther side of the Kidron, which has given its Arabic name Wādī Sitti Maryam, to the Kidron valley.

pilgrimage. This is the church about which they lie and are persuaded that it contains the grave of Jesus (on him be peace).[43] All who come on pilgrimage to it are liable to a stipulated tax to the Muslims and various humiliations, which they suffer very unwillingly. There too is the place of the cradle of Jesus (on him be peace), which is visited in order to obtain blessing.[44] |

125 *Some of the eminent scholars of Jerusalem.* Among these are [the following]: its qāḍī, the learned Shams al-Din Muhammad b. Sālim al-Ghazzi, who comes of a family of Ghazza [Gaza], the notables of that town;[45] its preacher, the pious and worthy 'Imād al-Dīn of Nābulus; the authority on the Traditions and muftī Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī; the professor of the Mālikites and superior of the noble religious houses, Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Muthbit of Granada, but now settled in Jerusalem; the ascetic shaikh Abū 'Alī Ḥasan, known as 'the blind', one of the leading devotees; the pious and devout shaikh Kamāl al-Dīn al-Marāghī; the pious and devout shaikh Abū 'Abd al-Raḥīm 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muṣṭafā, belonging to a family of Arz al-Rūm [Erzerum], and one of 126 the disciples | of Tāj al-Dīn al-Rifā'ī.[46] I associated myself with this shaikh, and was clothed by his hands in the patched robe of the Ṣūfī life.[47]

I then set out from Jerusalem the Holy to visit the frontier

[43] The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, called in Arabic *al-Qumāma*. The Muslim doctrine of Jesus asserts, on the basis of Qur'ān, iii, 55, that he was not crucified, another figure being substituted for him. The words *yakdhibūna 'alaihi* 'they lie concerning it' are perhaps to be read *yukdhabūna 'alaihi* 'concerning which they are deceived'.

[44] Apparently a confusion either with the shrine of the Manger in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, or possibly with the Church of St Anne, the traditional birthplace of Mary.

[45] See p. 73 above. Shams al-Dīn d. after 1350 (*Durar*, III, 442).

[46] The founder of the Rifā'ī congregation of ṣūfīs: see p. 140, n. 277.

[47] The 'ragged' or 'patched' robe (*khirqa*) was adopted by the adepts of the mystical orders as an outward sign of worldly renunciation, and the ceremony of investiture, when the novice received it from the hands of his shaikh, naturally acquired special significance. It is obvious, however, that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa cannot have gone through the long and arduous course of training usually required of the novice, and we must apparently regard this as an instance of the second or inferior grade of investiture, the *khirqat al-tabarruk* or 'robe of benediction', which 'is given *ex officio* by the Shaikh to persons whom he thinks it would be useful to cause to enter upon the mystic path, without their fully realizing the significance of the investiture' (Cl. Huart, *E.I.*, s.v. Khirḳa).

fortress of 'Asqalān [Ascalon]. It is lying in ruins, and has become no more than shapeless remains and mouldering walls.[48] Yet seldom has one town united so many advantages as were united in 'Asqalān—solidity, fine situation, natural strength of position, and combination of the resources of both land and sea. In it is the famous sanctuary where reposed the head of al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī (peace be upon him) before it was removed to Cairo.[49] This is a vast and lofty mosque, within which there is a well for water; it was constructed by order of one of the 'Ubaidī kings,[50] and there is an inscription to that effect over its gateway. To the south of this shrine is a large mosque, known as the mosque of 'Omar, of which nothing remains but its walls. Within it are some marble columns of matchless beauty, partly standing and partly fallen. Amongst these | there is a wonderful red column, of which the people 127 tell that the Christians carried it off to their country but afterwards found it gone, and it was back again in its place at 'Asqalān.[51] To the south of this mosque, again, is a well known as Abraham's Well (on him be peace). One goes down to it by a broad flight of steps, which give entry to a number of chambers, in each of whose four sides there is a spring. The water comes out of stone-lined conduits and is sweet, but not plentiful.[52] The people [there] have many tales of its peculiar merits. In the outskirts of 'Asqalān there is a 'Valley of Ants', which is said to be the one mentioned in the Holy Book.[53]

[48] At this point apparently begin the divagations of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's narrative. Since he left Cairo about 17 July and arrived at Damascus on 7 August, it is clear that he must on this occasion have taken almost a direct route to Damascus, and that his visits to other towns in Palestine and Syria which lay off the direct route took place in later years, probably in 1330 (see p. 100, n. 120). Ascalon was dismantled by Saladin during his struggle with Richard Coeur-de-Lion in 1191, and was finally destroyed by Sultan Baibars in 1270.

[49] See p. 46, n. 140. An inscription recording the discovery of the head at Ascalon and the construction of the sanctuary in 1091 is preserved on the pulpit now at Hebron: *Rép. chron. d'épigraphie arabe*, VII, 261–3.

[50] The Fatimid caliph al-Mustanṣir (1035–94). As a sunni, rejecting the alleged descent of the Fāṭimids from Muḥammad, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa calls them the 'Ubaidids, i.e. descendants of 'Ubaidallāh, who founded the dynasty in Tunisia in 908.

[51] I have found no other reference to the localization at Ascalon of this widely spread popular legend.

[52] For the cisterns and wells at Ascalon see *ZDPV*, II (1879), 164 ff.

[53] The reference is to the Qur'an, Sūra xxvii, 18, which relates the passage of Solomon with his armies through the Valley of the Ants. The site lies between Bait Jibrīn and Ascalon.

The cemetery of 'Asqalān contains such a number of graves of martyrs and saints as is beyond reckoning. They were shown to us by the keeper of the shrine [of Ḥusain] mentioned above, who enjoys a stipend assigned to him by the king of 128 Egypt | in addition to what he receives in alms from visitors.

I travelled from there to the town of al-Ramla, which is the same as Filasṭīn, a large town, well stocked with good things, and with fine bazaars. Here is the [famous] 'White Mosque', and it is said that on its southern side three hundred of the prophets lie buried (on them be peace).[54] Living there is a notable jurist, Majd al-Dīn al-Nābulusī.

Leaving there, I came next to the town of Nābulus, which is a large town with an abundance of trees and perennial streams, one of the richest places in Syria for olives, and from which olive oil is exported to Egypt and Damascus.[55] At Nābulus there is manufactured also the carob-sweet, and it too is carried to Damascus and elsewhere. The method of making it is as follows. The carobs are cooked and then pressed, the juice that runs out of them is gathered and the sweet is manufactured from it. The juice itself is also exported to Egypt and other parts of Syria. Here too grow the melons | 129 which are called by its name ['Nābulusī']; they are sweet and delicious. The congregational mosque of the town is of extreme architectural skill and beauty, and in the centre of it is a basin of sweet water.

From there I went on to the town of 'Ajlūn, which is a fine town, possessing a large number of bazaars and an imposing castle, and traversed by a river with sweet water.[56] Then I went on from there in the direction of al-Lādhiqīya, and passed through the Ghawr, which is a valley between ranges of uplands. In it is the grave of Abū 'Ubaida ibn al-Jarrāḥ, the patron of this people (God be pleased with him).[57] We

[54] Ramla was founded by the Arabs in 716. The White Mosque is now in ruins except for the tall minaret, built or rebuilt by order of al-Malik al-Nāṣir in 1318.

[55] Nābulus, the ancient Shechem, has remained into modern times famous for its soap-making industry.

[56] On Ajlūn, thirteen miles north of Jerash, see W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, II (London, 1883), 578-80. The citadel, called Qal'at al-Rabaḍ, was built by Saladin's governor 'Izz al-Dīn Usāma in 1184.

[57] One of the closest of Muḥammad's 'Companions', and subsequently commander in chief of the Arab armies in Syria, where he died during the

visited the tomb; beside it there is a religious house at which food is supplied to all wayfarers, and we spent a night there. After that we went on to al-Quṣair, where the tomb of Mu'ādh b. Jabal (God be pleased with him) is situated,[58] and I gained the blessing of a visit to it also. I then journeyed along the coast to the town of 'Akka [Acre], which is lying in ruins. 'Akka was formerly the capital of the lands of the Franks in Syria | and the harbour for their vessels, 130 resembling the great city of Constantinople. To the east of it is a spring of water known as the Fountain of the Oxen; it is said that God Most High made the bull to come forth from it for Adam (on him be peace). One descends to it by a flight of steps, and over it there was formerly a mosque, of which only the miḥrāb now remains.[59] In this town too is the tomb of Ṣāliḥ (on him be peace).[60]

From there I went on next to the town of Sūr [Tyre], which is in ruins,[61] but outside it there is an inhabited village, most of whose population are Rāfiḍīs.[62] I stopped there at a place with some water, to make the ritual ablutions, and one of the men of this village also came up to make his ablutions. Well, he began by washing his feet, then he washed his face, without rinsing out his mouth or snuffing water up his nostrils, and

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great plague of 639. The phrase 'patron of his people' (i.e. of the Syrians) is derived from a Tradition attributed to Muḥammad: 'My Companions are patrons (or guardians) to my people.' Yāqūt locates the tomb at 'Amtā, twelve farsakhs from Tiberias.

[58] Mu'ādh b. Jabal was a young Madinian Companion of the Prophet who was sent by Muḥammad as a missionary to the Yemen in 631 and died of plague in Syria in 640. Yāqūt mentions a village called Qusair Mu'īn al-Dīn in the Ghawr.

[59] Acre was destroyed on its recapture from the Crusaders by the Mamlūk sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl in 1291, and its place as chief town of the region was taken by Ṣafad. The passage on the Fountain of the Oxen is taken from the travels of Ibn Jubair (tr. Broadhurst, 318). The sending of the red bull to Adam to enable him to till the ground is a Jewish legend taken over into Islam. The site is now known as 'Ain as-Sitt, 'the Lady's Fountain'.

[60] Ṣāliḥ is mentioned frequently in the Qur'ān, as the prophet sent to the tribe of Thamūd, in the northern Ḥijāz, the site of whose burial grounds is still called Madā'in Ṣāliḥ. How this tomb came to be located in Acre seems to be unknown.

[61] Tyre was destroyed at the same time as Acre.

[62] The mountainous hinterland of Tyre, the Jabal 'Āmila, was from early times a centre of Shi'ism, *Rāfidī* being a Sunnī term of opprobrium for Shī'ī. The Sunnī order for ablution is face, hands, feet, and observance of the correct order is part of the ritual, hence Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's scandalized remark.

ended by wiping his hand over a part of his head. I reproved him for doing this, but he said to me, 'In building, the place to begin is at the foundation'. It is this city of Sūr which has become proverbial for strength of fortification and 131 inaccessibility, because | the sea surrounds it on three of its sides, and it has two gates, one on the landward side and one on the sea. That gate which gives access to the land has four covered passages, each with parapets, protecting it, and that which opens to the sea stands between two great towers. For sheer masonry there is no more marvellous or more remarkable construction in any town in the world; for the sea surrounds it on three sides and on the fourth side is a wall underneath which ships may enter and come to anchor. In former times there was an iron chain between the two towers as a barrier, [so that] there was no way in at that point, nor way out, until it had been lowered. It was under the charge of guards and inspectors, and none might enter or leave but with their knowledge. 'Akka also had a harbour like this, but it could hold only small vessels.[63]

Then I went on from there to the town of Ṣaidā [Sidon], 132 which is on the coast, | a pleasant place and rich in fruits; figs, raisins and olive oil are exported from it to the cities of Egypt.[64] I stayed with the qāḍī of the town, Kamāl al-Dīn, of Ashmūn in Egypt, a man of excellent qualities and of noble spirit. From there I continued my journey to the town of Ṭabarīya [Tiberias]. It was in time past a large and important city, but nothing now remains of that save vestiges that bear witness to its former greatness and magnificence.[65] In the town there are wonderful baths, with two establishments, one for men and the other for women, and the water in them is very hot.[66] Here too is the famous lake, the length of which is

[63] This description of Tyre is also taken almost verbally from Ibn Jubair (tr. Broadhurst, 319–20), with the substitution of 'covered passage' for 'gates' in Ibn Jubair, and a misunderstanding of the site of the harbour.

[64] Sidon was the chief port for Damascus at this period.

[65] The ruins of the ancient city extend for over a mile to the south of the Arab city.

[66] The thermal source of Tiberias (two miles south of the town) was noted from ancient times for the treatment of rheumatism and other diseases; for other Muslim descriptions of the city and its baths see Le Strange, *Palestine* 334–41. An Arab legend which ascribes their origin to Solomon is related by Vilnay, *Legends*, 331–2.

about six farsakhs and the breadth over three farsakhs.[67] At Ṭabarīya there is a mosque known as the 'Mosque of the Prophets', which contains the tomb of Shu'aib (peace be upon him) and his daughter, the wife of Moses, the Speaker [with God] (peace be upon him),[68] as well as the tombs of Sulaimān (peace be upon him), Yahūdā and Rūbīl[69] (the blessings and peace of God be upon our Prophet and upon them all). We made an excursion from Ṭabarīya to visit the well | into which Joseph (peace be upon him) was cast. It is in 133 the courtyard of a small mosque, and the well is large and deep.[70] We drank some water from it, which was [really] collected rain-water, but its custodian told us that water wells up in it also.

We travelled next to the town of Bairūt. It is a small place, but with fine bazaars, and its congregational mosque is of striking beauty. Fruit and iron are exported from there to Egypt.[71] We made an excursion from Bairūt to visit the tomb of Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf, who, they say, was one of the kings of the Maghrib. The tomb is at a place called Karak Nūḥ in the Biqā' al-'Azīz, and by it is a religious house at which food is provided for all who come and go.[72] It is said that the Sultan

[67] The Sea of Galilee, 21 km. (13 miles) in length and 12 km. (7½ miles) at its greatest breadth.

[68] Shu'aib, a prophet mentioned in the Qur'ān and later identified with Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses. The tradition that he was buried at the 'Horn of Ḥaṭṭīn', west of Tiberias, is due to a confusion of names (see *E.I.*, s.v.). Earlier travellers located these tombs at Ḥazīra, near Irbid: see Le Strange, *Palestine*, 445; also below, p. 143, n. 286.

[69] Solomon's (putative) tomb is located by Yāqūt on the east side of the lake, but he himself rejects the tradition. The association of the tombs of the patriarchs, Judah and Reuben, with those of Solomon is mentioned also by Ibn Jubair (tr. Broadhurst, 324). Al-Harawī mentions the tombs of Reuben and Simeon at Kābūl, near Nazareth, and subsequently those of Reuben and Judah in the Qarāfa at Cairo (see p. 43).

[70] Several travellers mention 'Joseph's Pit' (*Jubb Yūsuf*) near 'Jacobs' Bridge', twelve miles from Tiberias on the Damascus road (Le Strange, *op. cit.* 465–6); but others place it at Kan'ān (Shiloh), between Nāblus and Sinjil (*ibid.* 477; and see above, p. 75, n. 23).

[71] The iron mines in the adjacent mountains and the 'forest of pines' are mentioned by Qalqashandī (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, 74). The Mosque of Bairūt was the former Crusaders Church of St. John.

[72] Karak Nūḥ, at this time the administrative capital of the Biqā' (the long depression between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon ranges, known in classical times as Coele-Syria), is a small village close to Zahlé, which derives its name from its claim to possess the tomb of Noah; see *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients*, XIII (1916), 21. The floor of the Biqā' was covered by a

Ṣalāh al-dīn [Saladin] assigned the religious endowments for its upkeep, but some say it was the Sultan Nūr al-Dīn, who was a man of saintly life and of whom it is told that he used to weave mats and live on the proceeds of their sale.[78] |

134 *The story of the above-mentioned Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf.* It is related that after coming to the city of Damascus he fell ill there of a grievous malady and remained [for some time] lying on the ground in the bazaars. When he recovered from his illness, he went out to the outskirts of Damascus to seek some orchard for which he might serve as keeper. He was engaged to keep an orchard belonging to the king Nūr al-Dīn and continued to tend it for six months. When the fruit was due to ripen the sultan came to that garden, and the superintendent of the garden bade Abū Ya'qūb fetch some pomegranates for the sultan to partake of. He brought him some pomegranates accordingly, but the superintendent, finding them sour, bade him fetch some others. He did so, and the superintendent, finding them sour also, said to him, 'Have you been looking after this orchard for six months and cannot tell the sweet from the sour?' He replied 'It was for keeping that you hired

135 me, not for | eating', whereupon the superintendent came to the king and told him the whole story. The king sent for him, for he had seen in a dream that he should meet with Abū Ya'qūb and that some advantage would accrue to himself from him, and he had an intuition that this was he. So he said to him 'You are Abū Ya'qūb?' and on receiving his answer 'Yes' he rose to welcome him, embraced him, and bade him sit beside him. After that he took him in his cortège to his own

lake or marsh at this point, until the governorship of Tankiz, who drained it, and there was a tradition that the Ark came to rest on the spur of 'Anjar, on the opposite side to and south-east of Zaḥlé. For the appellation Biqā' al-'Azīz or Biqā' 'Azīzī, see R. Hartmann in *E.I.*, s.v. Buḳ'a. Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf I was the son and successor of 'Abd al-Mu'min, the political leader of the Almohad movement in Morocco, and reigned from 1163 to 1184, but was mortally wounded at the siege of Santarem and died near Evora in Portugal. The identity of the person mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa is unknown.

[78] Nūr al-Dīn, sultan of Aleppo from 1146, of Damascus from 1154, d. 1174, was noted for his piety and sobriety, but the statement made here by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa seems to be apocryphal. The following story of Abū Ya'qūb's integrity as a gardener is also related of Ibrāhīm b. Ad'ham (see p. 110, n. 160) and several other personages: see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, 117, n. 1.

residence, where he entertained him [only] from the lawful proceeds of the labour of his own hand.[74] Abū Ya'qūb stayed with him for some time, but subsequently left Damascus in solitary flight during the season of severe cold, and came to one of the villages in the district. There was in this place a man of humble station, who invited him to stay in his house and, on his consenting, prepared soup for him and killed a chicken and brought it to him with barley bread. Having partaken of this, Abū Ya'qūb prayed for a blessing upon his host. Now the man had several children, | one of them being 136 a girl who was shortly to be conducted to her husband. It is one of their customs in that country that the girl receives an 'outfit' from her father, the greater part of which consists in copper utensils. These are regarded by them with much pride and are made the subject of special stipulations [in the marriage contract]. So Abū Ya'qūb said to the man 'Have you any copper in your house?' 'Yes', he replied, 'I have just bought some in order to give this girl her outfit.' 'Fetch it to me,' he said, and when the man had brought it added 'Now borrow all the copper that you can from your neighbours.' So he did so and laid all the vessels out before him. Then Abū Ya'qūb lit fires around them, and taking out a purse which he had containing the elixir, he threw some of it upon the brass and the whole collection turned into gold. After putting these into a locked chamber, Abū Ya'qūb wrote a letter to Nūr al-Dīn, the king of Damascus, telling him about them and exhorting him to build a hospital for sick strangers and to constitute endowments for it. He bade him also build | re- 137 ligious houses on the highways, satisfy the owners of the copper vessels and provide for the maintenance of the owner of the house, and concluded his letter with these words: 'If Ibrāhīm b. Ad'ham renounced the kingdom of Khurāsān [as he did],[75] I too have renounced the kingdom of the Maghrib, and [now renounce also] this art. Farewell.' He at once took to flight, and the owner of the house brought the letter to the king Nūr al-Dīn, who came to that village and carried off the

[74] It was the rule of the stricter religious to refuse a ruler's gifts because they were derived from uncanonical (and hence unlawful) taxes and sources of revenue. Nūr al-Dīn, it is said, was careful to confine his household expenditure to the proceeds of his personal and legitimately acquired property.

[75] On the famous saint Ibrāhīm b. Ad'ham see p. 110, n. 160.

gold, after satisfying the owners of the copper vessels and the man himself. He made search for Abū Ya'qūb, but failing to find any trace or light upon any news of him, returned to Damascus, where he built the hospital which is known by his name and which has not its equal in the inhabited world.[76]

I came next to the town of Aṭrābulus [Tripoli], one of the capitals of Syria and of its great cities, traversed by flowing streams, and surrounded by gardens and trees, flanked by the 138 sea with its copious resources | and by the land with its sustaining bounties, and possessed of admirable bazaars and fertile lands. The sea is at a distance of two miles from it, and the town itself is of recent construction. The old city of Aṭrābulus was right on the edge of the sea and was held for a time by the Christians, but when it was recovered by al-Malik al-Ẓāhir [Baibars] it was pulled down and this new town was established [in its place].[77] In this town there are about forty amīrs of the Turks;[78] its governor is the chamberlain Ṭailān, known as 'king of the amīrs', and his residence there is in the mansion known as Dār al-Sa'ādah ['the Abode of Felicity'].[79] It is a habit of his to ride out every Monday and Thursday, the amīrs and regular troops also riding with him,

[76] The famous *bīmāristān* or hospital of Nūr al-Dīn (built in 1154) is described by Ibn Jubair (tr. Broadhurst, 296); for a fuller modern account, see Ahmad Issa Bey, *Histoire des bimâristans à l'époque islamique* (Cairo, 1928), 190–201. The building itself is still in existence, just west of the Umayyad Mosque. I have found no trace elsewhere of the legend related by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa; the general account is that its cost was defrayed by the ransom paid for a Frankish prince.

[77] Tripoli, after remaining in the hands of the Crusaders for 180 years, was recaptured in 1289 by the Egyptian sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalīl, the elder brother and predecessor of al-Malik al-Nāṣir, but Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's error is interesting as showing that already popular tradition had concentrated on Baibars as the hero of the reconquest. In the Mamlūk organization of Syria, Tripoli was the capital of one of the six provinces or 'kingdoms' into which the country was divided. The old town was situated on the peninsula at the present port, the new city on a spur some three miles inland near the crusading castle of Saint-Gilles (burned in 1289 and subsequently rebuilt).

[78] I.e. Mamlūk administrative and military officers (see p. 52, n. 104).

[79] Ṭailān is a mistake for Ṭaināl al-Ashrafī (Saif al-Dīn, called the Chamberlain), who was appointed governor of Tripolis on 9 May 1326, and transferred to Gaza in November 1332. The total strength of the forces at Tripolis was 3000 to 4000 men, but the regular troops probably numbered only a few hundreds. The procession described in the following sentences formed the preliminary to the ceremonial sessions held by the governor in his hall of justice; see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, 110 f., 222 ff.

and proceed thus into the open country beyond the town. On returning to it, and as he approaches his residence, the amīrs dismount, hand over their horses, and walk before him on foot until he enters his house, when they disperse. | The drum-band[80] plays before the residence of each of these amīrs every day after the sunset prayer, and torches are lit as well. 139

Amongst the notables who were living at Aṭrābulus were the following: the confidential secretary[81] Bahā' al-Dīn b. Ghānim, a worthy and much respected man, known for his liberality and generosity (his brother Ḥusām al-Dīn is the shaikh of Jerusalem the Holy, as we have already mentioned,[82] and a third brother 'Alā al-Dīn is confidential secretary at Damascus); the intendant of the treasury, Qiwām al-Dīn b. Makīn, a most eminent man; and the chief qāḍī of the town, Shams al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb, one of the most notable of the learned men of Syria.[83]

There are in this city some fine bath-houses, among them being the bath-house of the qāḍī al-Qirimī and that of Sandamūr, who was a former governor of the city, | and of whose severity to evildoers many stories are told.[84] For example, a woman complained to him that one of his private mamlūks had seized from her some milk that she was selling and had drunk it. She had no evidence to support her tale, but Sandamūr gave orders that he should be cut in two, and the milk came out of his entrails. A similar story is told of al-'Atrīs, one 140

[80] The 'drum-band' (*ṭablkhāna*) was composed of kettle-drums, trumpets and oboes, and played a fanfare every evening at the palaces of the sultan and the principal amīrs. A considerable proportion of the 'forty amīrs' mentioned above must, however, have been below the rank entitled to this distinction.

[81] The *kātib al-sirr* or confidential secretary was the chief secretary and head of the chancery. This Bahā' al-Dīn was Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Salmān, d. 1334 (*Durar*, I, 458); for his brother 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī, noted as a man of letters, d. 1336, see p. 151, n. 311.

[82] This Ḥusām al-Dīn (who is not mentioned in the passage relating to Jerusalem, pp. 77–80 above), was not a brother of Bahā al-Dīn, but Sulaimān b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Shaikh Ghānim, d. 1329 (*Durar*, II, 148).

[83] Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr b. Ibrāhīm, 1263–1345, subsequently qāḍī of Aleppo (*Durar*, III, 393).

[84] Sandamūr or Asandamūr al-Gurjī ('the Georgian') was appointed governor of Tripolis in 1300 and after holding other governorships was imprisoned in 1311.

of al-Malik al-Nāṣir's amīrs, at the time when he was governor of 'Aidhab, and another is related of the king Kabak, the sultan of Turkistān.[85]

From Tripoli I went on to Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, a small town on the top of a hill, with abundance of trees and flowing streams. Here there is a religious house known as the convent of al-Ibrāhīmī, after the name of [its founder, who was] one of the high amīrs.[86] I stayed with the qāḍī of the place,[87] but I cannot now recall his name exactly.

I proceeded next to the town of Ḥimṣ,[88] which is an attrac-141 tive town; its environs are charming, its trees | verdant, its streams copious; its bazaars are remarkable for the width of their streets, and its congregational mosque is distinguished by the beauty of its assembled parts. In the centre of the mosque there is a pool of water. The people of Ḥimṣ are Arabs, men of excellent and generous character. Outside this town is the tomb of Khālid b. al-Walīd, the Sword of God and of His Apostle;[89] beside it there is a religious house and a mosque, and the tomb is covered with a black pall. The qāḍī of this town is Jamāl al-Dīn al-Sharīshī, one of the most

[85] On Kabak see below (vol. II). Āqush al-'Atrīs commanded an expedition to 'Aidhāb in 1319. A similar story is told also of Muḥammad the Defterdār during the Turco-Egyptian campaign in Kordofān in 1821. A complaint was preferred by a woman against a soldier, and the commander had the man cut open alive 'on the woman's agreeing to suffer the same fate if the milk was not found in the man's stomach' (*Journal of the African Society*, no 98, Jan. 1926, p. 170).

[86] Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, 'Castle of the Kurds', so called from a Kurdish garrison established there about 1030, was reconstructed by the Crusaders as the famous Crac des Chevaliers. After its recapture by Sultan Baibars in 1271, it was for a time the capital of the district of Tripolis, but was by now only a garrison town of the second rank. See the elaborate study of P. Deschamps, *Le Crac des Chevaliers* (Paris, 1934). The village is now called Qal'at al-Ḥuṣn.

[87] The text appears to read 'the qāḍī of the zāwiya', but this is clearly a slip.

[88] Colloquially pronounced and generally transliterated Ḥomṣ, the ancient Emesa; see the article in *E.I.*, with a town plan and description of the Great Mosque. Ibn Jubair (tr. Broadhurst, 267-8) describes the city as situated in a dusty plain, waterless and treeless, but Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's Syrian contemporary Abu'l-Fidā also mentions the gardens of Ḥims, watered from the Orontes (cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 357).

[89] Khālid b. al-Walīd, the 'Sword of God', was the most brilliant general of the period of the Arab conquests. In repeated engagements he drove the Byzantines out of Syria and died there in 641 or 642. His tomb is still shown at Ḥimṣ, on the Ḥamāh road, just outside the former north wall of the town.

beautiful of men in figure and of the most upright in conduct.[90]

I went on from there to the town of Ḥamāh, one of the dignified metropolitan centres and elegant cities of Syria, of exceeding comeliness and surpassing beauty, and surrounded by orchards and gardens, supplied by water-wheels [*norias*] like revolving spheres. It is traversed by the great river | called al-'Āṣī ['the Rebel'], and has a suburb called al- 142 Manṣūrīya, which is larger than the town itself, and has busy markets and fine bath-houses.[91] Ḥamāh produces great quantities of fruit, amongst them being the almond apricot; when you break open its kernel you find a sweet almond inside it.[92]

Ibn Juzayy adds: It is this city and her river, water-wheels and orchards, that form the subject of the following verses by the man of letters and traveller Nūr al-Dīn Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Mūsā b. Sa'īd al-'Ansī al-'Ammārī of Gharnāṭa, whose ethnic is derived from 'Ammār b. Yāsir (God be pleased with him):[93]

May God guard those scenes in Ḥamāh that border both banks of her river
By which I have lingered with hearing and musing and sight!
The doves in her gardens are singing, the boughs in the breeze are aquiver,
Her buildings so brave that they baffle the tongue to indite.

[90] Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Sharīshī (1295–1368) came of a celebrated family of jurists, whose ancestor Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Bakrī, a native of Sharīsh (now Jerez de la Frontera, in the province of Cadiz), settled in Syria and died there in 1286.

[91] On Ḥamāh see the article (with plan) in *E.I.* It formed at this time an independent sultanate, under the suzerainty of Egypt, and ruled by the last representatives of the Ayyūbid dynasty founded by Saladin. From 1310 to 1331 the sultan was the famous historian and geographer Abu'l-Fidā. The norias (Arabic *nā'ūra*) are still one of the most distinctive features of Ḥamāh. The Arabic name of the river Orontes, al-'Āṣī, is punningly derived from the Greek name Axios, and rationalized by the explanation that, in contrast to the other rivers in Syria, it flows from south to north.

[92] The ḥamawī or white apricot, considered to be the finest variety in quality and sweetness, and much praised by Arab poets.

[93] One of the most famous Spanish-Arabic men of letters (*c.* 1214–80), geographer, historian, and literary critic. He travelled in the East between 1240 and 1254 and again in later life.

Men chide me because I rebel at restraint and at reason's repression, |
143 And homage I pay to the cup and to revel and cheer.
If the river itself be a rebel in Ḥamāh why hold it transgression
That I follow its lead and I drink of the wine strong and clear?
My voice in its ringing descant keeps time with her norias' screeching.
My hand with their ladling, but swifter the dance of my feet.
Lamenting, they scatter incessant their tears, like to lovers beseeching
With passion to see their beloved and her favours entreat.

Another poet speaks of the water-wheels thus, using the figure of concealed allusion:[94]

Many a noria, compassioning my sin,
As from afar she saw my fell intent,
Tenderly wept and voiced her grief—enough
That even the timber weeps 'The Impenitent'! |

144 A modern poet has written of her, with the same figure of concealed allusion:

O men of Ḥamāh, by our ancient ties,
To godly ways and simple faith I cling!
Let one recall our meeting, to mine eyes
The tears, obedient as the 'Rebel', spring.

(Resumes.) I then journeyed to the town of al-Ma'arra from which the poet Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī[95] and many other poets as well derive their designation [of Ma'arrī].

Ibn Juzayy remarks: The reason why it is called Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān is that al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr al-Anṣārī, the Companion of the Prophet (God bless him and give him peace),

[94] The *tawri'a* or *double entente*, represented in these examples by the pun on the Arabic name of the Orontes, al-'Āṣī, i.e. 'the rebel'; see n. 91 above.

[95] One of the most famous of Arab poets (973–1057); see 'The Meditations of al-Ma'arrī', in R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Poetry* (Cambridge, 1921), 43–207.

had a son who died during his tenure of the governorship of Ḥimṣ, and he buried him at al-Ma'arra.[96] It came to be called by his name in consequence, having previously been called Dhāt al-Quṣūr [that is to say, Ma'arra of the Forts or Palaces]. Others say that al-Nu'mān is a hill overlooking the town, from which it takes its name. |

(Resumes.) Al-Ma'arra is a small and pretty town, whose orchards are mostly of fig and pistachio, and the fruit is exported thence to Cairo and Damascus. In its environs, at a distance of one farsakh from the town, is the grave of the Commander of the Faithful 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, but there is no religious house by it, nor has it any guardian.[97] The reason for this is that it happens to be in the district inhabited by a sect of Rāfiḍīs, abominable persons who hate the Ten Companions[98] (God be pleased with them and curse those who hate them); they hate also every one whose name is 'Omar, especially 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (God be pleased with him) on account of his action in regard to the veneration of 'Alī (God be pleased with him).[99]

We travelled from there to the town of Sarmīn, a pretty place with a great quantity of orchards, their principal tree being the olive.[100] Brick soap is manufactured there and exported to Cairo and Damascus; they manufacture also perfumed soap, for washing the hands, | and this they dye with red and yellow. At Sarmīn too are manufactured fine

[96] Born at Madīna about 623, he held the governorship of Ḥimṣ for a rebel leader 683–4, and was killed in 684 in a revolt of the inhabitants. The legend which associates his name with Ma'arra is doubted by the geographer Yāqūt, who attributes the name Nu'mān to the Arab tribe of Tanūkh. Ma'arra (or Arra) was already an important city in Greco Roman times, and the old name given to it by Ibn Juzayy probably derives from the ruins of its ancient palaces.

[97] The Umayyad caliph 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz ('Omar II), reigned 717–20, famed for his upright and saintly life. He was buried at Dair al-Naqira (or Dair Sim'ān), somewhat further to the west of Ma'arra than the two to three miles indicated by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. The site has now disappeared.

[98] The Rāfiḍīs in this region were not 'orthodox' Shī'ites, but schismatic extremists of the Nuṣairī sect. The 'Ten Companions', those to whom Muḥammad gave the promise of Paradise, include the first four caliphs, Abū Bakr, 'Omar I, 'Othmān, and 'Alī.

[99] 'Omar II forbade the ceremonial 'cursing' of 'Alī from the pulpit which was a feature of Umayyad ritual.

[100] The upland regions of northern Syria were and still are predominantly olive growing.

cotton fabrics, which are known by its name. Its population are revilers, who hate 'the Ten', and—an extraordinary thing—never mention the word 'ten'. When their brokers are selling goods by auction in their bazaars and come to ten, they say 'nine and one'. One day a Turk happened to be there, and hearing a broker cry 'nine and one', he laid his club about his head saying 'say ten', whereupon quoth he 'Ten for the sake of the club'. There is a congregational mosque there with nine domes, and they avoided making them ten, in accordance with their detestable doctrine.

We journeyed thereafter to the city of Ḥalab [Aleppo], that city of the first magnitude and vast metropolis. Abu'l-Ḥusain Ibn Jubair has expressed himself thus describing it: 'Honourable is her rank, and far-flung in every age her name, many the kings who have sought her hand, and privileged her 147 position in all hearts. How many | a hand-to-hand combat has she excited, how many gleaming blades have been unscabbarded for her! She has a citadel famed for natural strength, conspicuous in height, and exempted by inaccessibility from being sought or won, whose flanks are of squared stones, and which is erected in the proportion of symmetry and stability of elevation. She has contended with the days and the years, and has sped on their last journey both nobles and commons. Where are her amīrs of Ḥamdān and their poets?[101] Perished every one, and naught remains save that which they built. O wonder, that cities remain and their lords pass away; these perish, but the destruction of those is not decreed! Others seek their hand after them and find no obstacle to asserting lordship over them, desire them and succeed in obtaining them with the lightest effort. This city of Ḥalab, how many of her kings has she conducted into the category of the past, how often has she superseded the adverb of time by the adverb of place![102] Feminine is her name, and she has decked

[101] Aleppo was occupied in 944 by Saif al-Dawla 'Alī b. Abu'l-Haijā, of the noble Arab house of Ḥamdān from eastern Mesopotamia. He made an immense name for himself by his campaigns against the Byzantine Greeks and by the literary brilliance of his court, which included amongst others the famous poets al-Mutanabbī and Abū Firās, to whose panegyrics Saif al-Dawla owes much of his fame. He died in 967, and his descendants continued to rule in Aleppo until the end of the century.

[102] Arabic poets and rhetoricians took a particular delight in such metaphors derived from the rules of Arabic grammar and syntax; the second

herself | in the ornaments of womanly beauty;[103] she has 148 followed the practice of lying excuse after the manner of other women,[104] and has displayed herself in bridal finery after [the loss of] the Sword of her Fortune [Saif al-Dawla] Ibn Ḥamdān. Alas, her youth must give place to age, her suitors must be no more, and after a time shall her ruin hasten towards her.'

The citadel of Ḥalab is called al-Shahbā';[105] within it are two wells fed with water from springs,[106] whence it has no fear of thirst. It is encompassed by two walls and around it [between the two walls] is a great trench, also fed with water from springs. Its [inner] wall is close set with towers, in which there have been contrived marvellous upper rooms, pierced with windows, and every tower amongst them is inhabited. Foodstuffs do not corrupt in this castle in spite of long-keeping.[107] In it there is a sanctuary which is visited by some persons, and of which it is told that al-Khalīl [Abraham]—upon him be peace—was wont to make his devotions there.[108]

This citadel resembles the citadel of Raḥbat Mālik b. Ṭawq, which is on the Euphrates, between Syria and 'Irāq.[109] When Qāzān [Ghāzān], the emperor of the Tatars,[110] attacked the city of Aleppo, he laid siege to this citadel | for several 149 days, but had to withdraw from it with his hopes frustrated.

implies the permanence of the site over the impermanence of the temporal events of which it was the scene.

[103] Literally, 'of the young women who stand in no need of (artificial) ornament'.

[104] The printed text of Ibn Jubair has 'And has practised perfidy according to the deceitful way of women', both phrases recalling traditional themes of Arabic poetry.

[105] Al-Shahbā' means 'the iron-grey'. The reason why it is called by this name is apparently unknown. This paragraph is also loosely taken from Ibn Jubair's description.

[106] All the Arabic writers assert that there were springs in the citadel, but at the present time none are known, and it seems probable that the water was actually suppplied by subterranean conduits.

[107] This sentence refers probably to storage of grain.

[108] A small mosque in the citadel, now dismantled, is still known as the Mosque of Abraham (see p. 97, n 113).

[109] Raḥba lies south of the Euphrates, opposite Qirqisiya (Circesium). The citadel was built by Mālik b. Ṭawq of the Arab tribe of Taghlib, in the reign of al-Ma'mūn (c. 815).

[110] The Mongol Īlkhān of Persia and Iraq (1295–1304). He laid siege to Aleppo on his first expedition to Syria in 1299 and again in 1300, on both occasions without success.

Ibn Juzayy adds: It is of this citadel that al-Khālidī, the poet of Saif al-Dawla,[111] speaks in the following verses:

> Lo! on her grim and massy rock
> That holds to scorn the foeman's shock
> With lofty tower and perilous steep,
> Majestic stands Aleppo's keep.
> The bosom of the windswept clouds
> Her topmost pinnacle enshrouds;
> The spangled stars of heaven rest,
> A glittering circlet, on her breast.
> When night is rent with levin spears
> Amid their fulgour she appears,
> As through the drifting cirrus sprays
> Resplendent Virgo sheds her rays.
> How many a troop 'gainst her arrayed
> Hath she with anguished death repaid!
> How many a conqueror flushed with fame
> Hurled back, crestfallen, whence he came!

The same poet refers to it thus, in verses of brilliant imagery: |

150 A fortress she—with her base the water-springs she enfolds,
Her summit over Orion's starry belt stands erect.
Raindrops she knows not, for she the clouds as her earth beholds,
Over their wide pasture-lands her flocks and her cattle ply.
The store of the lavish clouds, so oft as its bounties flow,
Her dwellers drain to her tanks or ever her towers are flecked,
Her belvedere mid the constellations were surely known
Were it to join in their march across the evening sky.
Her stratagems have repulsed full many a guileful foe,
Her dire defence their calamitous assaults overthrown.

Speaking of her the poet Jamāl al-Dīn 'Alī b. Abi'l-Manṣūr[112] says:

[111] There were two brothers, Abū Bakr Muḥammad and Abū 'Othmān Sa'īd b. Hāshim, from the village of al-Khālidīya, near Mosul; they died about 990 and 1009 respectively. They were inseparable during their lifetime, and their poems were generally joint productions.

[112] I have not been able to identify any poet of this name.

Immense in height, her soaring tower comes near
To stay the orbit of the circling sphere. |
The Milky Way supplies her watering needs, 151
The flowering stars the pasture of her steeds.
Even fickle Time, dismayed, turns back again,
And fears to spend one night in her domain.

(Resumes.) The city of Ḥalab is sometimes called Ḥalab Ibrāhīm [i.e. 'Milk of Abraham'], because [Abraham] al-Khalīl (the blessings and peace of God be upon our Prophet and upon him) used to live there. He had large flocks of sheep, and supplied the needy, the destitute, and all who went to and fro, with milk from them, so that they used to assemble together and ask for 'the milk of Abraham', and the town received its name from that.[113] It is one of the most illustrious of cities, and one which has no rival in beauty of plan and perfection of arrangement, and in the spaciousness and symmetrical disposition of the bazaars. Those at Aleppo are roofed with wood, so that its occupants are always 'in extended shade'.[114] Its *qaisarīya*[115] cannot be paralleled for beauty and size; | it encircles the [chief] mosque of the city, 152 and each of its arcades faces one of the doors of the mosque. The congregational mosque itself is one of the most splendid buildings of its kind.[116] In the court there is a pool of water,

[113] This medieval tradition, obviously based on the homonymy of the name Ḥalab with the Arabic word for 'milk', is found not only in most Arabic authors but also in works of the crusading period (Fulcher of Chartres, III, cap. 37). The geographer Yāqūt, however, expresses doubts about it on philological grounds. The name Halaap is already found in cuneiform texts as that of a Hittite kingdom in the twentieth century B.C.

[114] The phrase is from a Qur'ānic description of Paradise (Sūra lvi, 30)

[115] *Qaisarīya* is defined variously as 'a public place in which the market is held' or 'a square building with chambers, storerooms, and stalls for merchants'. The term is evidently derived from the Latin or Greek, and was used originally only by the Arabs of Syria and North Africa, but its origin is obscure. Of various theories which have been advanced, the most probable is that it means a market building privileged or authorized by the ruler (originally in these countries, of course, the Caesar) in return for a certain fixed payment, but no corresponding term has been found in the Byzantine histories. The *Qaisarīya* was obviously the chief bazaar in its town (the term still survives in this sense), and had its own gates. See G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1905), 89.

[116] The Great Mosque was burned down by the Armenians in 1260, and was rebuilt by the governor Qarasunqur at the beginning of the fourteenth century and by al-Malik al-Nāṣir in 1326.

which is surrounded by a pavement of vast extent, and its pulpit is of exquisite workmanship, inlaid with ivory and ebony. Close by the cathedral mosque is a madrasa which corresponds to it in beauty of plan and skill in execution; this madrasa is attributed to the amīrs of the Banū Ḥamdān.[117] The town contains in addition to this three other madrasas and a hospital.

As for the country in the environs of the city, it is a broad and extensive plain, covered with huge tilled fields, and vines planted in ordered rows. The fruit-gardens are on the bank of its river, which is the same river as flows past Ḥamāh and is called 'the Rebel'.[118] It is said to have been called by this name because it seems to one who looks at it as though its flow were from down to up. The spirit feels in the 153 environs of the city of Aleppo | an exhilaration, gladness and sprightliness which are not experienced elsewhere, and it is one of the cities which is worthy to be the seat of the Caliphate.

Ibn Juzayy remarks: The poets have been profuse in description of the beauties of Aleppo and in reference both to the city herself and to her environs. Abū 'Ubāda al-Buḥturī speaks of her as follows:[119]

> O lightning, in thy flame Quwaiq disclose
> And Ḥalab's bounds, and Biṭyās' castled peak.[120]
> Shine where the fields of saffron-tinted rose
> Enfold her, and the oft-plucked myrtle grows.
> When, lone and sad at heart, her gates I seek
> With ready cheer she dissipates my woes.

[117] This is probably the Ḥallāwiya madrasa, opposite the west gate of the mosque. It was formerly the Christian cathedral, which was turned into a mosque in 1124 in reprisal for the outrages committed by the Crusaders during the siege of Aleppo, and made into a madrasa by Nūr al-Dīn in 1150. The attribution to the Ḥamdānids is false, since the first madrasa in Aleppo was built between 1117 and 1124.

[118] This is an obvious error; the river of Aleppo is the Quwaiq, which descends from the north.

[119] Al Buḥturī (820–97), one of the most famous of Syrian poets, was born and died at Mambij, east of Aleppo. I have followed the Dīwān (Constantinople, A.H. 1300), I, 248, in reading *faṭurratai* in place of reading *maṭālibī* in the text

[120] Biṭyās, a village 3 miles east of Aleppo, was the residence of a former Arab prince: see J. Sauvaget, *Alep*, I (Paris, 1941), n. 228.

The exquisite poet Abū Bakr al-Ṣanawbarī says of her:[121] |

O'er Ḥalab's domain may the clouds milk their treasure! 154
How oft to her joys hath she linked new delight!
How many a draught hath she yielded of pleasure,
When all joy of living seemed under a blight.
When blossoms their banners unfurl in her meadows,
Their silken-fringed garments and turbans unfold,
They appear as the dawning disperses the shadows,
With edges of silver and centres of gold.

Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī also has said of her:[122]

Ḥalab the true as Eden view
The faithless as Sa'īr.
The great in size, within his eyes
Her small things huge appear.
Her people style Quwaiq a Nile, |
Each pebble a Thabīr.[123] 155

Abu'l-Fityān ibn Ḥayyūs says of her:[124]

When for my ill no cure you find,
Fetch me a breath of Ḥalab's wind,
Where eastern airs bring quiet ease,
For this I crave—the 'Udhrite breeze.

Abu'l-Fath Kushājim has the following lines on her:[125]

No town to its protégé yields the delights
Which Ḥalab bestows on her neighbour and friend.

[121] Al Ṣanawbarī (d. 945), of Antioch, was noted for his poetry describing gardens and natural scenes.

[122] For Abu'l-'Alā see p. 92, n. 95. The verses are taken from a poem composed on the wedding of some prominent citizen or governor of Aleppo (*Siqt al-Zand*, ed. Bulaq 1869, I 56).

[123] *Sa'īr* is one of the names of Hell in the Qur'ān. Thabīr is a mountain near Mecca. The point of the sarcasm is the small size and yield of Quwaiq, which was hardly more than a rivulet until supplemented by water drawn from the Sājūr (see p. 54, n. 168).

[124] Muḥammad b. Sulṭān b. Muḥammad b. Ḥayyūs (1003–81), a noted Damascene poet, whose *dīwān* has been published at Damascus (1951). For the 'Udhrite breeze' (i.e. of romantic love) see p. 253, n. 23.

[125] Abu'l-Fatḥ b. al-Sindī (d. 970), a noted scholar and wit of the Ḥamdānid age, whose pen-name Kushājim is an acrostic composed of the first letters of his accomplishments as secretary, poet, wit, scholastic, and astrologer. In later life, having studied medicine, he tried to remodel this name as Takshājim, but the new form did not take.

Whate'er thou desirest within her unites;
So seek her, and fortune her seekers attend!

The following verses on her are by Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Mūsā Ibn Sa'īd al-Gharnāṭī al-'Ansī:[126]

Ho, drover! Oft thou bidst thy camels kneel!
Gone are their folk—lead on my anguished soul! |
156 Ḥalab, that heals my longing of its smart,
qibla of yearnings, of my search the goal,
For thee may every pouring cloud desert
'Abīd, and Jawshan's heights, and Biṭyās' knoll![127]
How many a pasture there for eye and heart,
Where all desires are quenched with brimming bowl,
The while its birds make song with joyous art
And swaying branches each with each enroll,
And Shahbā's soaring height,[128] that seems engirt
with all the stars of heaven from pole to pole!

(Resumes.) At Aleppo resides the Malīk al-'Umarā, Arghūn Dawādār,[129] who is the highest officer under al-Malik al-Nāṣir. He is also a trained legist and noted for his equitable judgments, but he is close-fisted. The qāḍīs at Aleppo are four in number, one for each of the four rites. One of them [before the time of my visit was] the qāḍī Kamāl al-Dīn 157 Ibn | al-Zimlikānī,[130] a Shāfi'ī in rite, and a man of lofty aspirations, highly esteemed, magnanimous and of noble character, as well as versatile in his knowledge. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir had [afterwards] sent for him, in order to instal him as Chief Qāḍī in the capital of his kingdom, but that was not decreed for him and he died at Bilbais as he was on his way to

[126] See p. 91, n. 93. The first line is a conventional opening, and has apparently no direct connexion with the following lines.

[127] 'Abīd is mentioned in contemporary works as a pleasure garden near the city. Jawshan is the name of the ridge forming the south-western rim of the bowl in which Aleppo is situated. For Biṭyas see p. 98, n 120.

[128] See p. 95, n. 105.

[129] See p. 54, n. 168. Arghūn left Cairo to take up his post as governor of Aleppo on 8 December 1326 (when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was in Arabia). He died in office there on 30 December 1330, and was succeeded as governor by 'Alā al-Dīn Alṭūnbughā (Zetterstéen, 177, 183).

[130] Muhammad b. 'Alī al-Anṣārī, known as Ibn al-Zimlikānī (1269–1327), was reputed to be the best scholar of his age. He was appointed Chief Qāḍī at Aleppo in 1324

Cairo. When he was appointed to the qāḍī-ship of Aleppo, the poets from Damascus and other parts came to congratulate him, and amongst those who did so was the poet of Syria, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad, son of the shaikh and traditionalist Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Nubāta, of Qurashite and Umayyad descent, and of Mayyāfāriqīn by origin,[131] who eulogized him in a lengthy and polished ode, beginning:

Jilliq al-Faiḥā' mourns thy departure, and al-Shahbā' has rejoiced at thy coming.[132] |

O'er Damascus, now thou art gone, reigns a sadness, but o'er 158 the hills of Ḥalab reigns a glittering splendour.

Brightly shines an abode in whose court thou hast dwelt, even as a morn that comes with glister in its light.

O wanderer, who seekest noble qualities and highest deeds, from one beside whom even the generous seem as misers—

Here is Kamāl al-Dīn, seek shelter in his protection; ease shalt thou find, for there are virtue and beneficence,

Judge of judges, most illustrious of those in whose days the orphans and the poor are freed from want—

A judge pure in root and branch, who has climbed to the heights, through whom fathers and sons are ennobled.

The Lord hath shown favour by him to the sons of Aleppo—to God is bestowal of bounty whereso He will. |

His understanding and eloquence have unveiled the obscured, 159 so brilliant is that sagacity that it is as the rising sun.

O chief of magistrates, thy merit is too pre-eminent for lofty rank to give thee pleasure.

All offices come short of thy loftiness of mind, whose station overtops Orion in excellence.

To thee belong far-famed virtues in the sciences, as the dawn whose light cleaves the darkness,

And goodly deeds, to whose excellence even the enemy bears witness—and excellence indeed is that which even enemies attest.

[131] Jamāl al-Dīn (not Shihāb al-Dīn) Ibn Nubāta, the standard-bearer of poetry in his age' (1287–1366).

[132] Jilliq stands for Damascus; see p. 120, n. 194. *Al-Faiḥā'*, 'the widely extending', is another poetical term for Damascus, corresponding to *al-Shahbā'* for Aleppo, *al-Zawrā'* for Baghdād (cf. p. 95 n. 105, and p. 121, n. 198), *al-Ḥadbā'* for Mosul, and similar epithets.

The whole poem is more than fifty verses long, and al-Zimlikānī rewarded him for it with a robe and some money, although the poets criticized him for beginning the poem with the word 'mourns'. |

160 Ibn Juzayy remarks: His choice of language in this ode is not much thought of, and he shows his talent to better advantage in short occasional pieces than in his odes. To him has devolved the headship in poetry throughout the East in our own day. He is a descendant of the preacher Abū Yaḥyā 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Nubāta, the author of the celebrated discourses.[133] The following poem gives an example of the exquisite art of his fragments, illustrating the figure of concealed allusion:

I loved her, so lithe, and endowed with such grace,
But of heartache and anguish how reckless!
Since her pearls she begrudged to a lover's embrace,
What she grudged she now wears as a necklace!

(Resumes.) Among the qāḍīs of Aleppo is the Chief Qāḍī of the Ḥanafī school, the imām and professor Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibn al-'Adīm, a man of fine figure and character, belonging to an old-established and noble family in the city of Aleppo.[134] |

161 With smiling face, unclouded brow,
Whene'er thou seek'st him, he receives thee,
As if he were the suppliant, thou
The donor of the boon he gives thee.

Besides these there is the Chief Qāḍī of the Mālikī school, whom I will not mention--he was a notary at Cairo and

[133] 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Nubāta (d. 984) was a preacher at the court of Saif al-Dawla at Aleppo, and acquired lasting fame by the elegance and variety of his discourses in rhyming prose. The 'concealed allusion' in the following verses is to Qur'ān, iii, 175-6. 'Let not those who are niggardly with what God hath given them of His bounty think that it is better for them--nay it shall be worse for them! They shall have that whereof they were niggardly fastened upon their necks on the Day of Resurrection.'

[134] Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Kamāl al-Dīn 'Omar (1290-1351), succeeded his father as Ḥanafī Chief Qāḍī in 1321, and was succeeded in turn by his son Jamāl al-Dīn Ibrāhīm. The family of Ibn al-'Adīm had a long tradition as qāḍīs in Aleppo, and amongst them an earlier Kamāl al-Dīn 'Omar (1191-1262) became famous as the historian of Aleppo. See the genealogical tree in *Les biographies du Manhal Safi*, by G. Wiet (Cairo, 1932), 65.

obtained this office without any qualifications—and the Chief Qāḍī of the Ḥanbalites, whose name I do not remember; he belonged to al-Ṣāliḥīya [in the neighbourhood] of Damascus. The Marshal of the Sharīfs[135] at Aleppo is Badr al-Dīn Ibn al-Zahrā', and among the jurists there is Sharaf al-Din Ibn al-'Ajamī, whose relatives are notables of the city of Aleppo.[136]

Then I journeyed from there to the town of Tīzīn, which lies on the Qinnasrīn road.[137] It is a recent place, occupied by Turkmens; its bazaars are good and its mosques are of the utmost perfection. The qāḍī of the town is Badr al-Dīn al-'Asqalānī. The city | of Qinnasrīn was formerly an important place, and of ancient establishment, but it fell subsequently into ruins, and nothing but vestiges of it now remain. 162

I then travelled to the town of Antākiya [Antioch], which is a great and eminent city. It was formerly protected by a mighty wall, which had no equal among the city walls of Syria, but al-Malik al-Ẓāhir [Baibars], when he captured it, pulled its wall down.[138] Antākiya is densely populated, and its buildings are well constructed; it has an abundance of trees and water, and the river 'Āṣī [flows past it], outside the city. Within it is the tomb of Ḥabīb the Carpenter[139] (God be pleased with him), by which there is a religious house where food is supplied to all comers. The shaikh of this establishment is the pious and aged Muḥammad b. 'Alī, whose age exceeds a hundred, although he is still in enjoyment of his forces. I once visited him in a garden of his and [found that] he had been gathering firewood and had hoisted the load on

[135] For the marshal (*naqīb*) of the Sharīfs, see below p. 258, n. 50. Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī died in 1331 (*Durar*, II, 38)

[136] The family of Ibn al-'Ajamī produced a long line of scholars and jurists. Its head at this time was 'Izz al-Din Ibrāhīm b. Ṣāliḥ (d. 1331), who may have been the father of Sharaf al-Dīn

[137] Tīzīn, twenty-eight miles west of Aleppo, was one of a group of fortified villages facing Antioch during the Crusades, and was resettled by Turkmens. The statement that it was on the Qinnasrīn road is an error, as Qinnasrīn (the ancient Chalcis) lay south-east of Aleppo, on the Ḥamāh road. After the Arab conquest in the seventh century it was made the administrative capital of northern Syria, but fell into decay in the tenth century.

[138] Antioch was captured by the Mamlūk sultan Baibars in 1268.

[139] Ḥabīb the Carpenter is a personage identified with an unnamed martyr for the faith whose story is told in the Qur'ān (Sūra xxxvi, 19). The tomb was famous throughout the Middle Ages (see Le Strange, *Palestine*, 375-7; and *E.I.* s.v.) and is still venerated.

his shoulders to take it to his house in the town. I saw his son also, who was over eighty, but so humpbacked that he was 163 unable to rise. Anyone who | saw them would think that of the two the father was the son and the son the father.

Thereafter I journeyed to the castle of Bughrās, which is a forbidding and impregnable fortress, surrounded by orchards and fields.[140] It stands at the entrance to the land of Sīs, the country of the infidel Armenians.[141] These are subjects of al-Malik al-Nāṣir, paying him a tribute, and their dirhams, of pure silver, are known by the name of *baghlī's*.[142] In their land are manufactured the fabrics called *dabīlī(?)*.[143] The governor of this castle is Ṣārim al-Dīn Ibn al-Shaibānī; he has a worthy son called 'Alā' al-Dīn and a brother's son named Ḥusām al-Dīn, a worthy and generous man, who lives at the place known as al-Ruṣuṣ and guards the road leading to the country of the Armenians.

Anecdote. The Armenians once complained of the amīr 164 Ḥusām | al-Dīn to al-Malik al-Nāṣir and falsely accused him of unbecoming conduct, whereupon he dispatched an order to the Amīr al-Umarā at Aleppo to have him strangled. When the order had been sent off, it reached the ears of a friend of his, one of the principal amīrs, who came before al-Malik al-Nāṣir and said 'Sire, truly the amīr Ḥusām al-Dīn is one of the best of the amīrs, loyally serving the interests of the Muslims and guarding the road; moreover, he is a valiant warrior, and the Armenians desire to ravage the lands of the Muslims, but he stands in their way and holds them in subjection, and their true object [in bringing these accusations

[140] Baghrās (as it is usually spelled) was the fortress of Pagrae, built by the Greek emperor Nicephorus Phocas in 968 during his siege of Antioch, and frequently reconstructed. It defended the entry to Syria through the Beylan Pass, south-east of Alexandretta. In the Crusades, it was called Gaston or Gastin, and was recaptured by Saladin in 1188.

[141] The kingdom of Sīs or 'Little Armenia' was founded by the Armenian Rupenid princes in Cilicia at the end of the eleventh century, and remained more or less in alliance with the Crusaders at Antioch until its capture by Baibars, when it was invaded by the Mamlūks and became tributary (under pressure of repeated campaigns) to the Mamlūk sultans

[142] The *baghlī* dirham was the name given from the earliest Arab period to the high-weight silver dirham of the Persian type (J. Walker, *Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins in the B.M.* (London, 1941), cxlviii). The origin of the term is variously (but doubtfully) explained.

[143] MS readings corrupt. Dabīl (Dvin) was a former capital of Armenia.

against him] is to weaken the military power of the Muslims by having him put to death'. He continued thus [to plead his cause] before him, until at length al-Malik al-Nāṣir dispatched a second order to release him, bestow a robe of honour upon him and return him to his post. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir summoned a courier known as al-Āqūsh, who was never sent out except on important business, and bade him make haste and exert himself on his journey. He made the ride from Cairo | [165] to Aleppo in five nights, although it is a month's journey [in the usual way], and found that the governor of Aleppo had summoned Ḥusām al-Dīn and had conveyed him to the place in which persons are strangled. Thus God Most High delivered him and he returned to his post. I met this amīr [Ḥusām al-Dīn], who had with him the qāḍī of Bughrās, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī, in a place known as al-'Amq, which lies between Antākiya, Tīzīn and Bughrās, and is occupied by Turkmens with their animals on account of its fertile pasturage and extent.[144]

I continued my journey to the castle of al-Quṣair, which is a fine fortress.[145] Its commander is 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Kurdī and its qāḍī Shihāb al-Dīn of Armant in Egypt. I went on next to the castle of al-Shughr-bukās, a forbidding fortress on | [166] the summit of a lofty hill.[146] Its commander is Saif al-Dīn Alṭunṭāsh, a worthy man, and its qāḍī is Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Shajara, one of the disciples of Ibn Taimīya.

I then journeyed to the town of Ṣahyūn, a fine place, with perennial streams and leafy trees, and possessing an excellent citadel.[147] Its governor is known by the name of al-Ibrāhīmī,

[144] Al-'Amq is the 'Plain of Antioch' now called the 'Amuq, lying between the Orontes to the west, the ranges of al-'Ala and Barisha to the south and south-east and the Afrīn river and Lake of Antioch to the north (see R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, 228-31).

[145] Quṣair, the diminutive of qaṣr, 'fortress', was in the Nuṣairī mountains (Jebel Ansariye) to the south of Antioch. It was reconstructed by the Crusaders in the thirteenth century, under the name of Cursat, and captured by Baibars in 1275. The site is now called Qal'at al-Zaw (Dussaud, 129).

[146] A double fortress separated by a cleft on the left bank of the Orontes above its entry into the defile of Darkūsh. It was built by the Crusaders in the twelfth century and captured by Saladin in 1188 (Dussaud, *Topographie*, 156 ff.).

[147] The castle is famous in crusading history under the name of Saône: see R. Fedden, *Crusader Castles* (London, 1950). It also was captured by Saladin in 1188.

and its qāḍī is Muḥyī al-Dīn of Ḥimṣ. Outside the town there is a religious house set in a garden, at which food is supplied to all comers. It is by the tomb of the pious devotee 'Īsā al-Badawī (God's mercy on him), and I paid a visit to his grave.[148]

I continued my journey from there and passed by the castle of al-Qadmūs, the castle of al-Mainaqa, the castle of al-'Ullaiqa, the castle of Maṣyāf, and the castle of al-Kahf.[149] These castles belong to a sect called the Ismā'īlīya, known 167 also as | the Fidāwīya, and none may visit them there save members of their sect.[150] They are the arrows of al-Malik al-Nāṣir, by means of whom he strikes down those of his enemies who take refuge from him in al-'Irāq and other lands, and they receive fixed emoluments. When the sultan desires to send one of them to assassinate some foe of his, he pays him his blood-money. If he escapes after carrying out what is desired of him, the money is his, but if he is caught it goes to his children. They have poisoned knives, with which they strike the victim of their mission, but sometimes their devices do not succeed and they themselves are killed. This happened to them for example, in the case of the amīr Qarāsunqūr.[151] When he fled to al-'Irāq, al-Malik al-Nāṣir sent a number of them to [assassinate] him, but they were all killed

[148] Not identified.

[149] Four of the castles of the Ismā'īlīs were situated in the interior of the J. Anṣariye, to the east of Banyās (Bulunyās) and Tortosa. The order from north to south is al-Manīqa (as it is usually spelled), al-'Ullaiqa, Qadmūs, and al-Kahf. Maṣyāth or Maṣyaf is on the eastern slope of the mountains, directly to the west of Ḥamāh. They were constructed (some of them on older, usually Byzantine foundations) by the head of the Syrian 'Assassins', Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān (known to the Crusaders as 'the Old Man of the Mountains') in the twelfth century.

[150] The *Fidā'īs* or *Fidāwīs* (those who sacrifice themselves) were the active members of the Ismā'īlī sect, generally known as the Assassins (see *E. I.*, s.v.), founded at the end of the eleventh century by the Persian Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ as a dissident Fāṭimid sect, which maintained a reign of terror in north Persia (until their fortresses were captured by the Mongol Hulagu in 1256) and in north Syria. From Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account, corroborated by other sources, it is obvious that by this time the Syrian 'Assassins' had become secret agents of the Mamlūk sultans. See B. Lewis, 'The Ismā'īlites and the Assassins' in *A History of the Crusaders*, I (Philadelphia, 1955), chap. iv.

[151] Qarāsunqur, a mamlūk of Sultan Qalā'ūn, played a leading part in the political intrigues in Egypt after his death, and became one of the chief supporters of al-Malik al-Nāṣir, who appointed him to the government of Damascus, and subsequently (in 1311) to Aleppo. His flight, recounted with

and could do nothing against him owing to his prudent measures.

Anecdote. Qarāsunqūr was one of the great amīrs, and he was one of those who were present at and had a hand in the murder of al-Malik | al-Ashraf, the brother of al-Malik al-Nāṣir. When the kingdom was secured to al-Malik al-Nāṣir, and he became firmly established in power and the stays of his authority were strengthened, he began to pursue the murderers of the brother and to kill them one by one, ostensibly to take vengeance for his brother, and in fear lest they should make bold to deal with him as they had ventured to deal with his brother. Now Qarāsunqūr was Amīr al-Umarā at Aleppo. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir therefore sent letters to all the amīrs [under Qarāsunqūr's command], bidding them call their troops, and appointed a time and place for them to assemble near Aleppo, and attack the city in order to seize him. When they acted upon these instructions, Qarāsunqūr saw that his life was in danger, and, as he had with him eight hundred mamlūks, he mounted at their head and sallied out in the early morning against the united hosts, cut his way through them, and outdistanced them, | though they numbered twenty thousand men. He made for the encampment of the amīr of the Arabs, Muhannā b. 'Īsā,[152] which was two days' journey from Aleppo. Muhannā was away on a hunt of his, so Qarāsunqūr sought out his tent, and having alighted from his horse cast his turban round his own neck and cried 'Protection, O amīr of the Arabs!' Umm Faḍl, the wife of Muhannā and daughter of his uncle, was there, and she replied to him: 'We grant thee protection and we grant it to those who are with thee.' He said 'I desire only my children and my treasure', whereupon she answered 'Thou shalt have what thou wilt; alight therefore under our protection'. He did so, and Muhannā on his return entertained him generously and put his own wealth at his disposal. But Qarāsunqūr said: 'I

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some romantic detail by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, followed a few months later: see L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, 183–4.

[152] Chief of the Āl Faḍl, a branch of the Ṭayy Arabs, who supported the Mamlūks against the Mongols, and were rewarded with rich fiefs in Syria: see A. S. Tritton, 'The tribes of Syria in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries', *BSOAS*, London, XII (1948), 507 ff.; and the genealogical table in G. Wiet, *Les biographies du Manhal Safi*, no. 1774.

desire only my household and my treasure which I left in Aleppo.' Thereupon Muhannā summoned his brothers and his cousins, and consulted them on the matter. There were some who consented to Qarāsunqūr's request and there were some who said to him: 'How can we fight against al-Malik al-Nāṣir when we are in his lands in Syria?' Then Muhannā said to 170 them: 'As for | me, I shall do for this man what he asks, and I shall go with him to the Sultan of al-'Irāq.' Meanwhile news was brought to them that Qarāsunqūr's children had been dispatched to Cairo by the post-service, and Muhannā said to him: 'For your children there is nothing we can do, but your treasure we shall do our best to recover.' He then rode out with those of his household who consented to his plan, and called to arms about twenty-five thousand of the Arabs. They marched on Aleppo, burned the gate of the citadel, gained possession of it, and fetched out from it Qarāsunqūr's treasure and the remaining members of his family, without laying a hand on anything else.

[This done] they made to join the king of al-'Irāq, accompanied by al-Afram, the governor of Ḥimṣ,[153] and reached the king Muḥammad Khudābanda, the Sultan of al-'Irāq, when he was in his summer quarters at a place called Qarābāgh[154] | 171 which is between al-Sulṭānīya and Tabrīz. He received them hospitably, and assigned to Muhannā 'Irāq al-'Arab, to Qarāsunqūr the city of Marāgha which is sometimes called 'Little Damascus' in 'Irāq al-'Ajam,[155] and to al-Afram he assigned Hamadān. They remained with him for some time, during which al-Afram died[156] and Muhannā returned to [his allegiance to] al-Malik al-Nāṣir, having first obtained from him guarantees and undertakings [that his conduct would be overlooked]. Qarāsunqūr stayed as he was, and al-Malik al-Nāṣir continued to send the Fidāwīs against him time after

[153] Āqush al-Afram, a former governor of Damascus, had been governor of Tripoli (not of Ḥimṣ) when, for similar reasons, he joined Qarāsunqūr in his flight.

[154] Qarābāgh, the highlands to the west of Barda'a, in Ādharbāijān was a regular summer resort of the Mongol rulers.

[155] 'Irāq al-'Ajam (or 'Irāq 'Ajamī), 'Persian Iraq', was the name given at this time to the province formerly called al-Jibāl, the ancient Media, in contrast to the Plain of the Two Rivers, called 'Irāq al-'Arab.

[156] He died in April 1316; Muhannā's reconciliation with the Sultan of Egypt was probably in the following year. He died in 1334 or 1335.

time. Some of them gained entrance to him in his house, but were killed before reaching him; others hurled themselves upon him as he was riding, and were struck down by him. Altogether a considerable number of the Fidāwīs lost their lives through him. He used never to leave off his coat of mail, and never slept except in a room built of wood and iron. When, however, | the Sultan Muḥammad died and his son 172 Abū Sa'īd succeeded [in 1316] there occurred the affair of al-Jūbān, the chief of his amīrs, which we shall relate below,[157] and the flight of the latter's son al-Dumurṭāsh to al-Malik al-Nāṣir. Negotiations were opened between al-Malik al-Nāṣir and Abū Sa'īd, and they reached an agreement that Abū Sa'īd would send to al-Malik al-Nāṣir the head of Qarāsunqūr, and that al-Malik al-Nāṣir would send him the head of al-Dumurṭāsh. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir accordingly sent the head of al-Dumurṭāsh to Abū Sa'īd, and on its arrival he gave orders to bring Qarāsunqūr before him. Qarāsunqūr, on learning this, took a ring of his, which was hollowed out and contained a deadly poison, wrenched off its stone, swallowed the poison and died on the spot. Abū Sa'īd informed al-Malik al-Nāṣir of this, but did not send him his head.[158]

I then journeyed from the castles of the Fidāwīs to the town of Jabala, | a place of perennial streams and trees, and 173 about a mile distant from the sea.[159] It contains the tomb of the pious and celebrated saint Ibrāhīm ibn Ad'ham (God be pleased with him), he who renounced the kingly state and consecrated himself to God Most High, as all the world knows. But Ibrāhīm was not of royal lineage, as most people imagine; he inherited the kingdom from his maternal, not his paternal, grandfather. His father Ad'ham was one of the pious wander-

[157] Vol. II, pp. 117-20, of the Arabic text.

[158] Dumurṭāsh or Dumurdāsh arrived in Cairo on 20 January 1328, followed by the envoys of Abū Sa'īd less than a month later. Dumurṭāsh was executed on 11 August, and Qarāsunqūr's death occurred on 3 September (Zetterstéen, 179-80); but the other sources do not directly connect these events or state that Qarāsunqūr died by poison.

[159] Jabala is a township with a small harbour, midway between Latakiya and Banyās. If Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's statement that it was a mile from the sea is to be taken literally, it would seem that the town had been temporarily moved inland for protection from Christian raiders. He can in any case hardly have made his journey in the order here described.

ing mendicants, who give themselves up to devotions, and live in abstinence, cut off from the world.[160]

The story of Ad'ham. It is related that he passed one day through the gardens of the city of Bukhārā and had made his ablutions in one of the canals which traverse them, when he saw an apple being carried along by the current of the stream. Saying to himself 'This is absolutely valueless', he ate it. But later on there arose in his mind some scruple at what he had done, and he determined to ask pardon of the 174 owner of the orchard, and knocked at its gate. | A slave-girl came out to him, and he bade her call the owner of the dwelling. When she informed him that it belonged to a woman, he said, 'Ask permission for me to come to her'. She did so, and Ad'ham told the woman the story of the apple. She said to him 'This orchard belongs half to me and half to the Sultan' (the Sultan being then at Balkh, which is ten nights' journey from Bukhārā), and absolved him as far as her half was concerned. He went on to Balkh, and [there] the Sultan with all his suite happened to cross his path. He told him the story and begged for his pardon, and was bidden to return to him on the morrow.

Now the Sultan had a daughter of surpassing beauty, who had been sought in marriage by the sons of kings, but she obstinately remained virgin, taking pleasure [only] in religious exercises and an inclination towards pious devotees, for it was her desire to marry some ascetic who scorned the things of this world. When the Sultan returned to his abode, he told his daughter the story of Ad'ham, and added, 'I have never seen a more God-fearing man than this—he comes 175 from Bukhārā | to Balkh for the sake of half an apple'. She at once expressed a desire to marry him, so when Ad'ham came to him the following day, the Sultan said to him, 'I shall not absolve you unless you marry my daughter'. He submitted to this condition after some opposition and resistance,

[160] Ibrāhīm b. Ad'ham (d. about 780) was one of the earliest and most celebrated saints of Islam. He is represented generally as the son of one of the 'kings' of the region of Balkh, and as having renounced his rank and adopted the ascetic life, but his life has received many legendary accretions from the Buddhistic legend of *Barlaam and Josaphat* (see *E.I.*, s.v.). The source of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's statement and story of his father has not been traced.

and was married to her. When he entered her chamber, he found her decked in bridal finery, and the room also adorned with carpets and other furnishings, and retiring to a corner of the room he set to his prayers [and kept on praying] until morning. He continued to do this during all the nights of the bridal week. Meanwhile the Sultan had withheld his absolution, and when Ad'ham sent to him to grant it, he replied 'I shall not absolve you until your cohabitation with your wife takes place'. That night therefore he lay with her, and then, after making a complete ablution, he prepared to begin his prayers, when he gave a cry, prostrated himself on his prayer-mat, and was found dead—God have mercy on him. The princess, however, conceived by him and bore Ibrāhīm, and as his grandfather had no son, | he assigned the kingdom 176 to him. After that came the incident of his divesting himself of the kingship, according to the well-known story.

By the tomb of Ibrāhīm b. Ad'ham there is a fine religious house, containing a water-pool, and at which food is served to all comers. Its intendant is Ibrāhīm al-Jumaḥī, one of the most notable devotees. The people come to visit this convent on the night of mid-Sha'bān from all parts of Syria and stay there for three nights.[161] [At the same time] there is held at this place, but outside the town, a great fair, in which there is something of every kind. Poor brethren who have renounced the world come from all quarters to take part in this festival. Every person who comes on visitation to this tomb gives a candle to its intendant, with the result that many hundredweights are collected.

The majority of the people of these coasts compose the sect of the Nuṣairīya,[162] who hold the belief that 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib is a god. They do not pray [the ritual prayers], nor do they purify themselves,[163] nor | fast. Al-Malik al-Ẓāhir 177 [Baibars] compelled them to build mosques in their villages,

[161] For the religious ceremonies of mid-Sha'bān see p. 40, n. 139.

[162] The Nuṣairīs (now usually called 'Alawīs) are Arabs who were converted to a dissident Shī'ite sect in the tenth century by a disciple of Muḥammad ibn Nuṣair of Baṣra (who had proclaimed himself to be the *Bāb* or means of communication with the tenth Shī'ite imām). The statement that they believe in the divinity of Muḥammad's nephew and son-in-law 'Alī (see p. 256, n. 39) is a popular simplification of their gnostic doctrine of emanation. See *E.I.*, s.v. 'Nuṣairī'.

[163] I.e. practise circumcision.

so in every village they put up a mosque far away from their houses, and they neither enter it nor keep it in repair. It often serves as a refuge for their cattle and theirs asses. Frequently too a stranger on coming to a village of theirs will stop at the mosque and recite the call to prayer, and then they call out to him, 'Stop braying; your fodder is coming to you'. The number of these people is considerable.

Anecdote. It was told me that an obscure person appeared in the country of this sect and gave himself out as the Mahdī. They flocked around him, and he promised that they should take possession of the land and divided Syria up between them. He used to designate towns for them and bid them go forth to these towns, giving them olive-leaves and saying to 178 them, 'Display these, for they are | as orders on your behalf'. When, therefore, one of them went out and entered a town, and was brought before the governor, he would say to him, 'The Imām al-Mahdī has given me this town'. The governor would reply 'Where is the order?', then the man would produce the olive-leaves and would be bastinadoed and put in prison. Later on this person ordered them to equip themselves to fight against the Muslims, and to begin with the town of Jabala. He bade them take rods of myrtle instead of swords and spears, and promised them that these would be transformed in their hands into swords at the moment of battle. In accordance with these instructions, they made a surprise attack on the town of Jabala while the inhabitants were engaged in the Friday prayer, and entered the houses and dishonoured the women. The Muslims rushed out of their mosque, seized their weapons, and killed them as they pleased. When the news was carried to al-Lādhiqīya, the governor there, Bahādur [ibn] 'Abdallāh,[164] marched out with his corps; [at the same time] pigeons were despatched to 179 Ṭarābulus, | the Amīr al-Umarā' brought up his forces as well, and together they pursued the Nuṣairīs until they had killed about twenty thousand of them. The remainder of them fortified themselves in the hills and opened negotiations with

[164] Bahādur b. 'Abdallāh al-Badrī became governor of Ḥimṣ in 1319 and of Karak in 1325, and was subsequently banished to Tripoli (*Durar*, I, 495–6; Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, 94) This rising of the Nuṣairīs took place in 1317 (cf. Gaudefroy Demombynes, *La Syrie*, introduction, cxi).

the Malik al-Umarā', undertaking to give him one dīnār per head if he could find a means to spare their lives. The report [of their rising] had meanwhile been dispatched by pigeon-post to al-Malik al-Nāṣir, and his reply was sent to put them all to the sword. The Malik al-Umarā', however, besought him to reconsider his decision, and represented to him that they were the labourers of the Muslims in the tillage of the soil, and that if they were put to death the Muslims would be incapacitated in consequence. So in the end the Sultan gave orders to spare them.

I travelled next to the city of al-Lādhiqīya [Latakiya], which is an ancient town on the sea coast; they even claim that it was the city of the king 'who used to seize every vessel by force'.[166] I had gone there with the express object of visiting the pious saint 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Iskandarī, but when I reached it I found that he was absent in the noble Ḥijāz. | I met, however, among his companions the two pious shaikhs Sa'īd of Bijāya and Yaḥyā of Assilā, who were in the mosque of 'Alā al-Dīn ibn al-Bahā'. The latter, who is one of the distinguished and notable men of Syria, and known for his charities and acts of munificence, built a convent for these two shaikhs near the mosque, and endowed it with funds to supply food to all who pass to and fro. The qāḍī of the town is the eminent Mālikī jurist Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq of Cairo, a worthy and generous man. He had attached himself to the service of the Malik al-Umarā' Ṭailān and was appointed by him to this qāḍī-ship. 180

Anecdote. There was at al-Lādhiqīya a man known as Ibn al-Mu'aiyad—a bitter satirist, from whose tongue no man was safe, as well as suspect in his orthodoxy, frivolous, and given to speaking in a grossly irreligious way. It happened that he had some request to make of the Malik al-Umarā' Ṭailān, who did not accord it | to him, so he went to Cairo and trumped up some abominable charges against him. When he returned to al-Lādhiqīya, Ṭailān wrote to the qāḍī Jalāl al-Dīn to find some pretext to put him to death in a legal manner. The qāḍī 181

[166] Reference to the story of Moses and al-Khiḍr in Qur'ān, xviii, 78. Latakiya, already a flourishing port in classical times, retained its importance during the early centuries after the Arab conquest, and was destroyed by Saladin's troops on its recovery from the Crusaders in 1188.

summoned Ibn al-Mu'aiyad to his residence and had a discussion with him, in the course of which he elicited his secret heresy, for he made several outrageous statements, the least of which was deserving of death. The qāḍī had placed witnesses behind a curtain, and they wrote out an attestation of his statements; he was then arrested while still with the qāḍī and thrown into prison. The Malik al-Umarā' was informed of what had been done with him and he was subsequently brought out of the prison and strangled at the prison-gate.[166]

It was not long after this that the Malik al-Umarā' Ṭailān was removed from Ṭarābulus, and the governorship was given to al-Ḥājj Qurṭayya, one of the chief amīrs, who had also been a former governor of the city.[167] This man and Ṭailān were on terms of mutual hostility, so he made it his business to seek out Ṭailān's faults. The brothers of Ibn al-Mu'aiyad appeared before him with a complaint against the qāḍī Jalāl al-Dīn, whereupon he sent | for him and for the witnesses who had testified against Ibn al-Mu'aiyad, and when they were brought gave orders to strangle them. They were taken outside the town accordingly, to the place in which [condemned] men are strangled, where each one of them was made to sit beneath his gallows and their turbans were removed. Now it is the custom of the amīrs of that country that when any of them gives orders for the execution of any person, the chief of the police[168] rides speedily on his horse from the amīr's audience hall to the place where the condemned man is, then returns to the amīr and asks again for permission [to carry out the sentence]. He does this three times, and it is only after the three [requests] that he executes the order. When the chief of police performed his duty [on the present occasion], the amīrs rose as he asked for the third time, uncovered their heads, and said, 'O amīr, this were a disgrace to the religion of Islām, that the qāḍī and the

[166] Or 'at the gate of his house'.

[167] Shihāb al-Dīn Qaraṭāy or Qarāṭay (as the name is usually spelled) al-Ashrafī was transferred from Ḥimṣ to Tripoli in 1316, transferred to Damascus and replaced at Tripoli by Ṭaināl in 1326 (see p. 88, n. 79), reappointed to Tripoli in 1332 (when Ṭaināl was transferred to Gaza), and died there a few months later. He was reputed to be a man of high courage, chivalry, and forbearance (*Durar*, III, 348).

[168] This officer, called the *ḥākim*, was responsible for carrying out the decisions of the judges' courts.

witnesses should be put to death!' The amīr accepted their intercession, and set the condemned men free.

In the environs of al-Lādhiqīya is the monastery known | as Dair al-Fārūṣ, which is the largest monastery in Syria and 183 Egypt. It is inhabited by monks, and Christians visit it from all quarters.[169] Every Muslim who stops there is entertained by the Christians; their food is bread, cheese, olives, vinegar and capers. The harbour of this city is protected by a chain between two towers; no [ship] can either enter it or leave from it until the chain is lowered for it. It is one of the best anchorages in Syria.[170]

I went next to the castle of al-Marqab, a mighty fortress rivalling the castle of al-Karak. It is situated on a lofty mountain and outside it is a suburb where strangers stop, but they may not enter the citadel. It was captured from the hands of the Christians[171] by al-Malik al-Manṣūr Qalā'ūn,[172] and close by it was born his son al-Malik al-Nāṣir. The qāḍī of the place was Burhān al-Dīn of Cairo, one of the most worthy and hospitable of qāḍīs.

I continued my journey to al-Jabal al-Aqra', which is the highest mountain of Syria and the first part of the country visible | from the sea.[173] Its inhabitants are Turkmens and it 184 has springs and flowing streams. I went on from there to Jabal Lubnān. This is among the most fertile mountain ranges in the world; in it are to be found all manner of fruits, and water fountains and thick coverts. It is never without a number of recluses who have renounced the world for the service of God

[169] This monastery does not appear to be otherwise recorded by name. It was probably situated on the hill called Tell Farous, north-east of the town (Dussaud, *Topographie*, 415)

[170] The lagoon which forms the harbour at Latakiya is almost encircled by two promontories of rock, leaving only a narrow entrance about 150 ft. wide.

[171] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa regularly uses the term *Rūm* (properly Greek Christians), instead of the more usual *Faranj* (Latin Christians).

[172] Al-Marqab, called Margat by the Crusaders, is situated prominently on a ridge to the south of Banyās (Bulunyās); see Fedden *Crusader Castles*, 72-3. It was captured by Qalā'ūn in 1285, but maintained in good repair.

[173] Jebel al-Aqra', 'the bald mountain', known as Mons Casius to the classical geographers, rises to a height of 4940 ft., to the south of the mouth of the Orontes. Though prominently visible from Latakiya to the northward, it is quite impossible for Ibn Baṭṭūṭa to have travelled from Latakiya to Lebanon via Mons Casius.

Most High, and of ascetics and devotees, for the place is noted for this, and I myself saw there several saintly men of obscure name who had become recluses in the service of God Most High.[174]

Anecdote. One of the devotees whom I met there told me the following story. 'We were (he said) in this mountain, along with a company of poor brethren, during the season of severe cold. So we lit a great fire and sat around it. By and by one of those present said, "This would be a splendid fire to roast something on". One of the poor brethren, a man of mean 185 appearance and to whom nobody | paid any attention said, "At the hour of afternoon prayer I was at the sanctuary of Ibrāhīm b. Adham,[175] and saw close by it a wild ass which was surrounded by snow on every side and I do not think it could move. If you were to go to where it is, you would be able to kill it and roast its flesh on this fire". So we rose and went to the place, five of us together, and found the wild ass exactly as he had described to us. We seized it, brought it to our friends, and then slaughtered it and roasted its flesh on that fire. But when we looked for the faqīr who had given the information about it, we could neither find him nor discover any trace of him, and greatly did we marvel about him.'

After Jabal Lubnān we came[176] to the city of Ba'labakk, a beautiful and ancient place and one of the most agreeable cities in Syria, surrounded by glorious orchards and superb gardens, with flowing streams traversing its land, and rivalling Damascus in its boundless amenities. It has [such 186 an abundance] of | cherries as is not to be found elsewhere, and in it is manufactured the *dibs*[177] which is called by its name. It is a kind of thick fruit juice which they make from

[174] The term 'Lubnān' seems to have been applied more especially to the northern ranges of the Lebanon, now called Kasrawān, between Ba'albek and Tripoli.

[175] See p. 109, n. 159. The distance from Jabala to Northern Lebanon is at least seventy miles.

[176] No explanation is given of the change to the plural pronoun.

[177] *Dibs* is a grape paste or jelly, the manufacture of which is a traditional industry in Lebanon and Damascus (hence the common surname *Dabbās* = *dibs*, manufacturer). It will be noted that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa says nothing of the monuments and citadel of Ba'albek, which occupy so much space in the other Arabic accounts of the city; the omission is no doubt explained by his later statement that he reached it in the evening and spent only the night there.

grapes; they have a kind of clay which they add to this, with the result that it solidifies. The jar into which the paste is put can then be broken and the contents will remain in one piece. From this *dibs* is manufactured a sweetmeat, into which pistachios and almonds are put, and which they call *al-mulabban*. Another name which they give to it is 'horse skin'.[178] Ba'labakk also produces many preparations of milk, which are exported from it to Damascus. The distance between them is one day's journey, if one makes haste; but caravans on leaving Ba'labakk spend the night at a small village called al-Zabdānī, with large quantities of fruit-trees,[179] and go on to Damascus the following morning. At Ba'labakk are manufactured also the textiles which go by its name, such as *iḥrāms*, etc.[180]

Another industry at Ba'labakk is the making of wooden vessels | and spoons that have no equal in the world. They call a large dish a *dast*.[181] Frequently they make a large dish, then make a second which fits into the hollow of the first, and another in the hollow of that, and so on to as many as ten, which anyone seeing them would imagine to be a single dish. In the same way with spoons, they make a series of ten, one within the hollow of the other, and make a leather covering for them. A man will carry this in his belt and, on joining in a meal with his friends, will take it out; those who see it think it to be a single spoon, whereupon he produces nine others from within it.

187

When I entered Ba'labakk night was already falling, but I left it early the following day, because of my eager desire to reach Damascus; and on Thursday, the ninth of the month of Ramaḍān the Exalted in the year [seven hundred and]

[178] *Mulabban* means 'in the form of bricks or tiles'. 'Horse-skin' (*jild al-faras*) is a popular name for the apricot paste (*qamar al-dīn*) manufactured at Damascus, and also called *mulabban*. It is probable that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has confused the two. See on the latter Burton's note in his *Journey to al-Medinah and Mekkah*, I, 191.

[179] A township in the Anti Lebanon, below one of the main sources of the Baradā river; see *ZDPV*, LXXI (1955), 101 ff.

[180] See p. 12, n. 15. There is no justification in the text for the French translators' explanation 'fichus de coton', as this was not a cotton-growing region.

[181] *Dast* is a Persian word, meaning a bundle or parcel of objects of the same kind.

twenty-six, I arrived at this city, Dimashq al-Shām.[182] I lodged there at the College of the Mālikites, which is called 188 al-Sharābīshīya.[183] Damascus is | the city which surpasses all other cities in beauty and takes precedence of them in loveliness. Any description, however extensive, must fall short of her charms; but nothing is more brilliant than the language of Abu'l-Ḥasan Ibn Jubair (God's mercy upon him) in speaking of her. He says:

'As for Damascus, she is the Paradise of the Orient, and dawning-place of her resplendent light,[184] the seal of the Islamic lands which we have explored, and the bride of the cities which we have unveiled. She hath adorned herself with flowers of sweet-scented herbs, and displayed herself in brocaded vestures from her gardens; she hath occupied an assured position in the site of beauty, and hath decked herself in her bridal chair with fairest adornment. She is ennobled by the fact that God Most High gave a refuge to the Messiah (upon Him be peace) and his Mother in it, "upon a hill furnished with security and a flowing spring".[185] O'ershadowing shade, and water that steals over the throat, whose rivulets 189 glide | with the smoothness of serpents in every path! Garden glades, whose languid breeze revives the souls of men! She shows herself boldly to her beholders with polished display, and cries to them "Hither to a resting-place of beauty, by night and at noon". Her soil is sated with abundance of water until it yearns for thirstiness, so that even the rocks and the rugged places almost cry to thee "Stamp with thy foot; here is a cool spring for thee to wash thyself and to drink".[186] She is encircled by gardens as the moon is encircled by its halo, and the fruit by its calyces;[187] eastwards of her extends her

[182] By the astronomical calendar, 9th Ramaḍān 726 was Saturday, 9 August 1326. Either the local calendar was two days out, or 7th should be read for 9th. It will be recalled (see p. 71, n. 1) that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa left Cairo about 18 July.

[183] See p. 138, n. 264.

[184] The text of Ibn Jubair has 'of her gracious and resplendent beauty'.

[185] Reference to the verse of the Qur'ān (xxiii, 52): 'And We made the Son of Mary and his Mother a sign, and We gave them a sure refuge upon a hill furnished with security and a flowing spring.' For the tradition which connects this verse with Damascus see p. 146 below.

[186] Quotation from Qur'ān, xxxviii, 41, referring to Job.

[187] Ibn Jubair: 'and is enfolded by them as the calyces enfold the flower.

verdant Ghūṭa as far as eye can reach,[188] and at every point which thou regardest in her four quarters its luxuriant verdure bounds the sight. With what divine truth have men said of her "If Paradise be on earth, it is Damascus without a doubt; and if | it be in Heaven, Damascus is its earthly counterpart and equivalent".' 190

Ibn Juzayy adds: One of the poets has indeed composed verses on this idea, in which he says:

If Paradise be on this earth, Damascus 'tis and none but she;
If in the heavens, from her derives its air and its amenity.
'Fair city and forgiving Lord!' Enjoy her—swift the hours will flee![189]

(Resumes.) Damascus has been described also by our shaikh the traditionist and traveller Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Jābir b. Ḥassān al-Qaisī of Wādī Āsh [Guadix],[190] who settled at Tunis. He quoted Ibn Jubair textually and then added:

'He has indeed expressed himself with beauty and elegance in his description of her, and has inspired men's minds by his account with longing to gaze upon her outward form. So much may be granted, even though it was not given to him to stay in her [long enough] to plead her cause with the fulness and accuracy of one who has intimate knowledge of her. He has not described | the golden tints of her evening when the hour has come for the sun to set, nor the aspects of her varied seasons,[191] nor the soul-stirring occasions of joy in her. That man has expressed himself with peculiar delicacy who said, "I found her as all tongues describe her, and within her is all that hearts can desire and that delights all eyes".' 191

Ibn Juzayy adds: What the poets have said in description of the beauties of Damascus is beyond all computation. My

[188] The *Ghūṭa* is the name given to the oasis watered by the rivers of Damascus.

[189] The last line contains two allusions to the Qur'ān; the first, an almost literal quotation from xxxiv, 15, relating to the 'two gardens' of ancient Saba' (South Arabia); the second, from lxxix, 46, literally 'an evening and its morn', to imply a long period that seems to last for no more than a few hours.

[190] A contemporary of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who travelled twice to the East, once in the 720's and again in 734. He was the leading scholar in Tradition of his age in the Maghrib, and died of plague in Tunis in 749 (*Durar* III, 413-14).

[191] Reading *fuṣūlihā* with MSS 908 and 909.

father (God's mercy on him) used frequently to recite in description of her these verses, which belong to Sharaf al-Dīn Abu'l-Maḥāsin (God Most High have mercy on him):[192]

Damascus! my longing for her is a lover's torment,
  let false friends importune, let critics condemn as they please!
A land where the pebbles are pearls and the soil is amber,
  and fragrant and heady as wine is the northerly breeze.
Her waters glide softly with rippling chains, yet unfettered, |
192 and healthy yet languid the zephyr that plays o'er her leas.

This is poetry of a high order. 'Arqala the Damascene, of the tribe of Kalb,[193] said of her:

On the world's cheek Shām is the grain of beauty,[194]
  Jilliq the pupil of its languorous eyes;
Her poppies make a hell that flames unburning,
  her myrtles an unending Paradise.

The same poet also said of her:

Who would anticipate celestial joys,
Here is Damascus, here those maids and boys![195]
Here never moonfaced youth sang to his lute,
But piping merle and ouzel followed suit. |
193 O lovely when the wind's soft fingers weave
Ringed mail upon its streams-- but make-believe![196]

He has many poems besides these on Damascus. Abu'l-Waḥsh Saba' b. Khalaf al-Asadī[197] said of her:

May God refresh Damascus with such rain
As steadily the gentle clouds pour down.

[192] Muḥammad b. Naṣr, called Ibn 'Unain, d. 1232-3; see his *Dīwān* (Damascus 1946), p. 69.

[193] An older contemporary and friend of Saladin, died probably about 1180.

[194] There is a pun on the word *Shām*, the Arabic name of Damascus, and *shāma*, mole or grain of beauty. Jilliq, famous in Arabic poetry as the seat of the princes of Ghassān before the Arab conquest in the seventh century, is generally identified with al-Kiswa, on the Nahr al-A'waj (the ancient Pharpar), ten miles south of Damascus (see p. 158, n. 1), but is frequently used by the poets as a synonym for the *Ghūṭa* (see p. 119, n. 188).

[195] For the maidens and boys of Paradise see p. 41, n. 123.

[196] See below, n. 198.

[197] Known as Wuḥaish al-Asadī, b. 1110, and a resident of Damascus.

A city aperse, unmatched in beauty
In all this earth, or in remotest spheres.
'Irāq's skewed river fain would claim to be
One of her streams, and its 'Irāq disown.[198]
Her soil in splendour rivals with the heavens,
Her flowers in brilliance with the blazing stars.
The zephyr of her meads that cools the night
The shackles of the carebound soul unties. |
Spring sports at ease within her rich demesnes
And all the world is brought to her bazaars. 194
Never shall nostrils weary of her scent,
Nor vision of her fail to enchant men's eyes.

In a corresponding strain to this are the following verses on her by al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Baisānī from an ode (which has also, however, been attributed to Ibn al-Munīr):[199]

O lightning, wilt thou bear from me a greeting
sweetened to match thine own delicious showers?
Speed to Damascus, discharge thy limber shafts
to gem and crown her meads with starry flowers.
O'er Jairun[200] spread thy skirts, and single out
a palace vested all in high noblesse. |
Where springlike bounty spurns restricting bands 195
and wide-slit clouds pour out a rich largesse.[201]

Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Mūsā b. Sa'īd al-'Ansī al-Gharnāṭī, known as Nūr al-Dīn, said of her:[202]

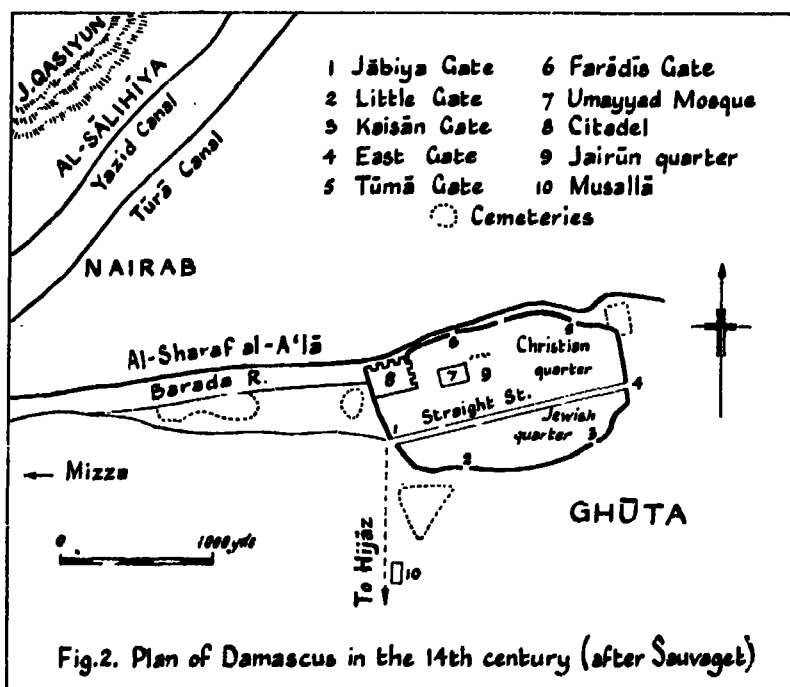
[198] This complicated play is based on the name *al-Zawrā'*, 'the skewed', given to the Tigris (and sometimes to West Baghdād). From this and the pun in the last line of the preceding poem, it would seem that the irrigation streams of Damascus were locally known as *zūr*, which is also the plural of *zawrā'* and a noun meaning 'deceit'

[199] Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (1135–99) was the friend, chief secretary, and in practice the vizier of Saladin, and widely reputed as a man of letters. Ibn Munīr (1080–1153) was one of the leading Syrian poets of the twelfth century.

[200] Jairūn is the quarter of Damascus immediately adjoining the Great Mosque on its eastern side.

[201] This verse carries on the metaphor of garments from the preceding line: the spring rains (of generosity) are released from the band which a man sitting down ties round his legs and back to support him, and the quartan (?) rainclouds (of royal giving) are slit wide open in the under-sides.

[202] See p. 91, n. 93.

Fig. 2. Plan of Damascus in the 14th century (after Sauvaget)

Damascus is our residence, where every kind of pleasure
Which other climes have but in part is found in fullest measure.
The branches dance beneath the breeze, the while the birds are singing,
The waters softly gliding by, and all the flowers are springing.
All faces shine resplendent at the joys which there surround them,
Cloaked though they be by the cool shades of mighty trees around them.
Each gushing river Moses' rod forever is releasing,
And on each meadow's edge there stands al-Khaḍir with his blessing.[203]

He also said of her: |

Pitch thy tent in Jilliq 'twixt the cup and strings— 196
Paradise it is for ear and eye refined!
Feast thy gladdened sight with all its beauteous things!
Twixt the meads and streamlet exercise thy mind!
Lo, the golden tints that flush the evening sky!
Hark, among the trees the choir of birds combined!
Say to him who seeks its pleasures to decry,
'Hence, to me thou art of other than mankind!'

And again he said of her:

Damascus! Paradise—the stranger there forgets his native land!
Her far-famed Saturdays—how elegant, how marvellous their show!
See, where thou turnst thine eyes, a lover or beloved on every hand!
This dwelling-place of joys, where doves attune their song to dancing bough, |
And flowers that galliardwise strut through her meads, a gay and scented band. 197

[203] According to the Qur'ān, vii, 160, when Moses struck the rock 'there gushed out from it twelve springs'. Al-Khaḍir or al-Khiḍr is the immortal wandering saint of Muslim legend (see *E.I.*, s.v.); the allusion here is to the tradition 'Wheresoever al-Khaḍir stands or prays the earth becomes green'.

For the people of Damascus do no work on Saturday, but go out to the pleasaunces, by the banks of the rivers and under great trees with spreading branches, where, between the orchards with their fresh greenery and the gliding waters, they spend their day until nightfall. But our discourse on the charms of Damascus has carried us on too long, so let us return to the narrative of the Shaikh Abū 'Abdallāh.

The congregational mosque of Damascus, known as the Mosque of the Umayyads. This is the greatest mosque on earth in point of magnificence, the most perfect in architecture, and the most exquisite in beauty, grace, and consummate achievement; no rival to it is known, no equal to it is in existence. The man who was responsible for its construction and architectural perfection was the Commander of the 198 Faithful, al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik b. | Marwān.[204] He applied to the King of the Greeks at Constantinople, bidding him send craftsmen to him, and the king sent him twelve thousand of them. The site of the mosque was a church, and when the Muslims conquered Damascus Khālid b. al-Walīd (God be pleased with him) entered from one side by the sword and penetrated as far as the middle of the church, while Abū 'Ubaida b. al-Jarrāḥ (God be pleased with him) entered by capitulation from the western side and also advanced as far as the middle of the church.[205] Consequently the Muslims made of that half of the church which they had entered by force a mosque, and the half which they occupied under the terms of the capitulation remained a church. When al-Walīd determined to enlarge the mosque by incorporating the church, he asked the Greeks to sell him that church of theirs for whatsoever equivalent they desired, but they would not yield to him, so he seized it from their hands. The Christians

[204] Umayyad Caliph of Damascus, reigned 705–15. For the construction and early history of the Great Mosque see K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, I (Oxford, 1932), 100 ff.

[205] This paragraph follows loosely the account given by Ibn Jubair. For Abū 'Ubaida see p. 82, n. 57, and for Khālid b. al-Walīd p. 90, n. 89. The legend here repeated relates to the first Arab occupation of Damascus in 635 (the city was later evacuated and reoccupied without a siege after the defeat of the Byzantine army on the Yarmūq river in 636), and appears to derive from a misunderstanding, it having been the ancient temple *temenos*, and not the later church within it, which was shared by both faiths (Creswell, 128 ff., and see below, p. 127, n. 215).

used to assert that the destroyer of the church would be stricken with madness, and they told that to al-Walīd. | But 199 he replied 'I shall be the first to be stricken with madness in the service of God' and, taking an axe, he set to work to knock it down with his own hands. When the Muslims saw this, they joined one after another in the work of destruction, and God gave the lie to the assertion of the Greeks.

[The inner faces of] all the walls of this mosque are decorated with cut stones of gold known as *fusaifisā'*, intermingled with various colours of extraordinary beauty.[206] The size of the mosque in length from east to west is two hundred paces, that is three hundred cubits, and its breadth from south to north a hundred and thirty-five paces, that is two hundred cubits. The number of windows of coloured glass contained in it is seventy-four. Its naves are three in number, extending lengthwise from east to west, the breadth of each nave being eighteen paces. [The arches] are supported by fifty-four columns, with eight [plaster] piers interrupting [the series of] them, | and six piers cased with marble and 200 inlaid with coloured marbles, upon which are represented the figures of *miḥrābs* and other shapes. These support the cupola of lead which [surmounts the space] in front of the *miḥrāb*, and which is called the 'Dome of the Eagle'. It is as though they likened the mosque to a flying eagle, the cupola being its head.[207] This is one of the most wonderful buildings in the world; from whatever side you face towards the city the Dome of the Eagle appears to you, soaring into the air and standing out above all the buildings of the town.

The courtyard [of the mosque] is encircled by three arcades, [one on each of] its eastern, western and northern sides, and the breadth of each arcade being ten paces. They contain thirty-three columns and fourteen [plaster] piers. The breadth

[206] I.e. mosaics, some panels of which still survive the later destruction caused by fire and earthquake in the intervening centuries; see M. van Berchem, 'The mosaics of the Great Mosque at Damascus', in Creswell, pp. 230–52 and plates. The description and figures are also taken from Ibn Jubair.

[207] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa abridges Ibn Jubair's more careful explanation of this supposed likeness, the aisle below being the breast and the walls of the aisles on either side being the wings. Creswell (p. 114) explains the term 'eagle' as derived from Greek ἀετός, meaning both 'eagle' and 'gable'.

of the court is a hundred cubits.[208] It is one of the most graceful and most perfectly beautiful of sights. The people of the city gather there in the evenings, some reading, some conversing,[209] and some walking up and down, and they disperse
201 after the last prayer of the night. When any | of their principal men, among the jurists or others, meets a friend of his, each of them hastens towards the other and bows his head.

Within this courtyard there are three domed pavilions. One of them, on the western side of it and the largest of the three, is called the Pavilion of 'Ā'isha, Mother of the Faithful. It stands upon eight marble columns, and is decorated with mosaics and paints of various colours and roofed with lead. It is said that the wealth of the mosque used to be stored in it, and it was stated to me[210] that the profits of the landed property belonging to the mosque and its revenues amount to about twenty-five thousand gold dinars annually. The second pavilion, on the east side of the court, is of the same form as the other, but is smaller than it; it stands upon eight marble columns and is called the Pavilion of Zain al-'Ābidīn.[211] The third pavilion, in the centre of the court, is a small octagonal
202 building of strikingly fine marble, | solidly put together, and stands upon four columns of pure white marble. Beneath it is an iron grille, in the centre of which is a brass pipe ejecting a thin spirt of water upwards, so that it rises and then describes a curve, like a wand of silver. They call this the water-cage, and the people like to put their mouths to it to drink.

On the east side of the court there is a doorway leading to a mosque of exquisite design, called the sanctuary of 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib (God be pleased with him).[212] Facing this, on the

[208] Ibn Jubair adds 'exclusive of the roofed-in northern and southern arcades'.

[209] The phrases may be taken to mean 'some reading the Qur'ān, some reciting Traditions', but from the parallel passage in Ibn Jubair the more general senses seem to be meant here.

[210] Here Ibn Baṭṭūṭa brings the figure given by Ibn Jubair ('8000 Tyrian dinars') up to date, from his own information. The practice of depositing the treasure in a domed pavilion in the mosque appears to have been common in Syria (Creswell, 142).

[211] 'Alī, called Zain al-'Ābidīn, was the son of Ḥusain and fourth in the line of the Shi'ite Imāms. There seems to be as little explanation for the linking of his name with this pavilion as for that of 'Ā'isha with the western pavilion.

[212] *Mash'had 'Alī*, not in the usual sense of tomb-mosque, but in the sense

west side, at the point where the western and northern galleries join, is a place where, it is said, 'Ā'isha (God be pleased with her) gave audiences at which she related Traditions of the Prophet.

At the south side of the mosque is the principal *maqṣūra*,[213] in which the imām of the Shāfi'ites officiates as prayer-leader during the prayers. In the eastern angle of this *maqṣūra*, and opposite the *miḥrāb*, is a great chest containing the holy Volume | which was sent by the Commander of the Faithful, 203 'Othmān b. 'Affān (God be pleased with him), to Syria.[214] This chest is opened every Friday after the [noon] service, and the people compete with one another to kiss that holy Volume. It is to this place too that people bring their debtors, and those against whom they have any claim, to swear. To the left of the *maqṣūra* is the *miḥrāb* of the Companions [of the Prophet]—the historians say that it was the first *miḥrāb* constructed in Islām—in which the imām of the Mālikites officiates; to the right of the *maqṣūra* is the *miḥrāb* of the Ḥanafites, in which their imām officiates, and adjoining this the *miḥrāb* of the Ḥanbalites, in which the Ḥanbalite imām officiates.

The mosque has three minarets.[215] One of them is at its eastern end, and is of Greek construction. Its doorway is

of 'place sanctified by the presence there' of a sainted personage at some period. Ibn Jubair states more precisely that the attribution of this sanctuary to 'Alī was (in his time) peculiar to the Shī'ites, rightly adding that neither 'Alī nor 'Ā'isha is known to have visited Damascus at any time.

[213] The *maqṣūra* is a chamber or compartment enclosed by rails or grilles for the use and protection of the ruler or governor during the ritual prayers. The imām who officiates in the *maqṣūra* is, of course, the imām of the rite to which the ruler adheres, and this Shāfi'ite privilege probably goes back to the time of Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin.

[214] The first official compilation of the Qur'ān was made about 650 by order of the third caliph, 'Othmān, and copies of this recension were sent by him to the provincial capitals. Being the holiest relic in the city, there was less likelihood that any accused person would risk swearing a false oath over it.

[215] In this paragraph Ibn Baṭṭūṭa is altogether independent of Ibn Jubair. The south-eastern minaret was originally a tower of the pre-Islamic (and pre-Byzantine) temple *temenos* (see R. Dussaud, 'Le temple de Jupiter Damascénien,' in *Syria*, III (1922), 219 ff.); it was destroyed by earthquake in 1202 (after Ibn Jubair's visit), rebuilt, burnt down in 1339–40, and reconstructed a few years later. The south-western minaret was also an ancient *temenos* tower. The northern minaret was called 'the Bride', and is reputed to have been the first minaret of Muslim construction.

within the mosque and in its lowest story there is a lavatory as well as ablution chambers, in which those who devote themselves to religious exercises and the occupants of cells in the mosque make their major or minor ablutions. The second minaret is on the western side—it also is of Greek construc-
204 tion—and the third is on the northern side, and was | built by the Muslims. The number of muezzins [on the staff] of the mosque is seventy.

On the eastern side of the mosque is a large railed-off enclosure, within which there is a tank of water. This enclosure is appropriated to the blacks of Zaila'.[216] In the centre of the mosque is the tomb of Zechariah (upon him be peace), surmounted by a coffin set breadthwise between two pillars and covered by a black silk cloth with borders of figured work. This is inscribed in white lettering: 'O Zakarīyā', we give thee glad tidings of a son, whose name [shall be] Yaḥyā.'[217]

This mosque is renowned for its special virtue. I have read[218] in regard to the peculiar merits of Damascus [the following tradition] handed down from Sufyān al-Thawrī:[219] 'Verily, the prayer in the mosque of Damascus is equivalent to thirty thousand prayers.' Moreover in the Tradition handed down from the Prophet (God bless and save him), [it is related] that he said: 'God shall be worshipped in it for forty years after the destruction of the world.' It is said that the southern wall
205 of the mosque | was founded by the prophet of God, Hūd (upon him be peace), and that the grave of Hūd is contained

[216] For Zaila', now in Somaliland, see *Selections*, p. 110, and *E.I.*, s.v.

[217] This monument, which is in the southern gallery, is usually called the tomb of John the Baptist (or, as in Ibn Jubair, the burial place of his head). The head of John the Baptist was reputedly preserved in Ḥimṣ (Emesa), and was claimed to have been brought to Damascus shortly before the Arab conquest in 635–6, presumably at the time when the Christian basilica was dedicated to him; Dussaud, in *Syria*, III (1922), 236–7. The quotation in the text is from the narrative of the birth of John in the Qur'ān, xix, 7. The tomb of Zechariah is said to have been discovered in the ruins of the Umayyad mosque in Aleppo in 1708 (al-Murādī, *Silk al-Durar*, III, 208).

[218] This paragraph also reproduces a paragraph of Ibn Jubair, who says 'We have read . . .'. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's phrase seems to imply 'I too have read'. The French translators take the following words to be the title of a book 'On the Merits of Damascus'. Although several works with similar titles are known (by Abū Sa'īd al-Sam'ānī, d. 1167, Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Maqdisī, d. 1245, and Shams al-Dīn al-Maqdisī, d. 1344), the reference is probably to the relevant chapter of the great History of Damascus by Ibn 'Asākir (d. 1176).

[219] A noted scholar and traditionist of the second Islamic century, d. 778.

in it. But I have seen in the vicinity of the town of Ẓafāri of the Yaman, in a place called al-Aḥqāf, a building containing a grave on which is inscribed: 'This is the grave of Hūd b. 'Ābir, God bless and save him.'[220] Among the other merits of this mosque is the fact that recitation of the Qur'ān and prayer are unceasing in it, except for a short time, as we shall relate. The townspeople assemble in it daily, immediately after the dawn prayer, to read a seventh part of the Qur'ān, and assemble again after the mid-afternoon prayer for a reading which goes by the name of the Kawtharī reading, in which they read from the chapter of al-Kawthar to the end of the Qur'ān.[221] Those who assemble for this reading have stipends assigned to them, their number being about six hundred in all. The clerk of absences checks their names, | and 206 any of them who absent themselves have their stipends cut at the time of payment by the amount of their absence.[222]

In this mosque also there are a great many 'sojourners'[223] who never leave it, occupying themselves unremittingly in prayer and recitation of the Qur'ān and liturgies, and using for their ablutions those lavatories which are inside the eastern minaret, as we have described above. The townsfolk supply their needs of food and clothing, although the sojourners never beg for anything of the kind from them.

This mosque has four doors: (1) a southern door, known as the 'Door of Increase'; on top of it there is a fragment of the lance to which the flag of Khālid b. al-Walīd (God be pleased with him) was attached.[224] This door is approached by a large and spacious vestibule where the dealers in odds and ends and

[220] See vol. II, p. 203 of the Arabic text. Hūd is, in the Qur'ān, the prophet sent to the ancient Arabian tribe of 'Ād. The reference to Hūd at Damascus comes from Ibn Jubair.

[221] I.e., from Sūra cviii (beginning 'Verily We have given thee al-Kawthar') to the end of Sūra cxiv, all of which are short chapters of fifteen to twenty words each. For al-Kawthar see p. 41, n. 123.

[222] This sentence and the paragraph following are added by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa to Ibn Jubair's account.

[223] *Mujāwir*, translated 'sojourner', is the term applied to a student who spends a period of months or years at a celebrated sanctuary for study or edification; cf. below pp. 176 f., 221 f.

[224] For Khālid b. al-Walīd see p. 90, n. 89. This description of the doors is based on Ibn Jubair, but revised and brought up to date. The southern door, a little to the east of the south-west minaret, was apparently added in the eleventh century.

other merchants have their shops. Through it lies the way to the [former] Cavalry House,[225] and on the left as one emerges from it is the Coppersmiths' Row, a large bazaar extending 207 along | the south wall of the mosque and one of the finest bazaars in Damascus. On the site of this bazaar stood the residence of Mu'āwiya b. Abū Sufyān (God be pleased with him) along with those of his [principal] supporters; it was called al-Khaḍrā', and was subsequently destroyed by the 'Abbāsids (God be pleased with them), and its site turned into a market.[226]

(2) An eastern door, the largest of the doors of the mosque, called the Jairūn Door. It has a large vestibule, leading out to a vast and broad arcade, entered through a quintuple gateway [of arches] formed by six tall columns.[227] On the left-hand side of this is an enormous tomb-mosque in which formerly reposed the head of al-Ḥusain (God be pleased with him),[228] and opposite it is a small mosque called by the name of 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (God be pleased with him),[229] in which there is running water. Laid out at the entrance of the arcade is a flight of steps, by which one descends to the vestibule [of the mosque], the latter resembling an enormous 208 trench leading up to a door of enormous height | supported by tall columns like trunks of palm trees. Along both sides of this arcade there are pillars upon which are supported circular passages, where the cloth-merchants amongst others have their shops; above these again are long passages in which are the shops of the jewellers and booksellers and makers of admirable glassware. In the square adjoining the first door are stalls belonging to the principal legal witnesses, two stalls among them belonging to the Shāfi'ites and the rest to those

[225] Originally an annexe to the Umayyad palace (see the following note), on its western side. Much of the site was later occupied by the Amīnīya college, founded in 1120, the first Shāfi'ite college in Damascus (*Dāris*, I. 178).

[226] The 'Green Palace' of the Umayyad Caliph Mu'āwiya (reigned 660–80) was famous in Muslim annals, although no description of it is known. It was probably a Byzantine building converted by the Umayyads (cf. Ibn 'Asākir, vol. II, pt. i (Damascus, 1954), 138).

[227] These were also remains of the Roman temple of Jupiter (see p. 127, n. 215). The columns of this portico fell down in 1858 (Creswell, 108).

[228] See p. 46, n 140.

[229] See p. 93, n. 97.

of various schools. In each stall there may be five or six notaries[230] and the person authorized to draw up contracts of marriage on behalf of the qāḍī. The other notaries are scattered throughout the city. In the vicinity of these stalls is the bazaar of the stationers, who sell paper, pens and ink. In the centre of the vestibule which we have been describing there is a large circular basin, made of marble, surmounted by an unroofed cupola,[231] which is supported by marble columns, and in the centre of the basin is a copper pipe which violently forces out water | so that it rises into the air more than a man's height. 209 They call it the Waterspout, and its aspect is striking. Then, to the right as one emerges from the Jairūn door, which is called also 'the Door of the Hours', is an upper chamber, shaped like a great arch, within which there are small arches made to open and furnished with doors to the number of the hours of the day. These doors have their inner side painted green and their outer side yellow, and as [each] hour of the day passes the green inner side [of one door] is turned to the outside, and the yellow outer side to the inside. It is said that inside the upper chamber there is a man who has the duty of turning them by hand as the hours pass.[232]

(3) The western door is known as the 'Door of the Courier', and on the right as one emerges from it is a college of the Shāfi'ites. This door too has a vestibule in which there are candlemakers' booths and a row of shops for the sale of fruit. At its top end there is a door to which one ascends by a flight of steps; this door is flanked by columns soaring into the air, and at the foot | of the steps are two circular fountains on the 210 right and left [respectively].

(4) The northern door is known by the name of 'Confectioners' Door',[233] and has a large vestibule [likewise]. On

[230] A legal witness (*shāhid*, or in Western usage *'adl*), is a person of known probity whose testimony is accepted in a qāḍī's court. Since Muslim law did not admit documentary evidence as proof, all transactions were formally 'witnessed' by two or more of such persons. This became a recognized profession, corresponding to the Roman and modern notaries.

[231] Ibn Jubair says more precisely 'encircled by a wide cornice of lead'.

[232] This famous water-clock, constructed by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Sā'ātī in the reign of Nūr al-Dīn (1154–74), had originally a much more elaborate mechanism, described by Ibn Jubair (tr. Broadhurst, 281).

[233] Manufacturers of *nāṭif*, a confection made from grape juice and other ingredients.

the right as one comes out of it is a convent known as al-Shumai'ānīya,[234] which has a water tank in the centre and lavatories supplied with running water. It is said that it was the residence of 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (God be pleased with him). At each of the four doors of the mosque is a building for ritual ablutions, containing about a hundred rooms supplied with abundance of running water.

The imāms in this mosque. The officiating imāms are thirteen in number. The first of them [to perform the prayers] is the imām of the Shāfi'ites, whose imām at the time of my arrival in Damascus was the Chief Qāḍī Jalāl al-Dīn Muhammad b. 'Abdal-Raḥmān al-Qazwīnī, one of the great doctors of the law.[235] He was also the preacher at the mosque, and his place of residence was in the Dar al-Khiṭāba; he used to come out [into the mosque] through the iron door [opposite] the *maqṣūra*, which was the door through which Mu'āwiya (God be pleased with him) used to enter. Jalāl al-Dīn subsequently held the chief qāḍī-ship in Egypt, after al-Malik al-Nāṣir had repaid on his behalf about a hundred thousand dirhams which he owed in debts at Damascus.

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When the imām of the Shāfi'ites gives the salutation at the end of his prayers, the imām of the sanctuary of 'Alī begins the prayers [there]; after him follow in succession the imām of the sanctuary of al-Ḥusain, the imām of al-Kallāsa,[236] the imām of the sanctuary of Abū Bakr, the imām of the sanctuary of 'Omar, the imām of the sanctuary of 'Othmān (God be pleased with them all), the imām of the Mālikites — their imām at the time of my arrival at Damascus was the jurist Abū 'Omar b. Abi'l-Walīd Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Tujībī, Cordovan by family, born at Gharnāṭa[237] and resident at Damascus, who used to exercise the imāmate alternately

[234] Apparently the same as the otherwise unidentified convent al-Shūmānīya.

[235] Born 1267/8, appointed qāḍī and khaṭīb of Damascus 1324, transferred to Cairo as Chief Qāḍī in May 1327, reappointed to Damascus 1338 and died there at the end of the same year (*Durar*, IV 3–6; *Manhal Ṣāfī*, no 2178).

[236] Al-Kallāsa, 'the lime-kiln', was a small college built by Nūr al-Dīn on the northern side of the mosque in 1160; it was burned down with the adjoining minaret of 'the Bride' in 1174, but rebuilt by Saladin, who was buried in it in 1193

[237] Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (1272–1346), son of the former

with his brother (God's mercy on both)—then the imām of the Ḥanafites—their imām at the time of my arrival there was the jurist 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī, known | as Ibn al- 212 **Rūmī,[238] who was also one of the leading Ṣūfīs and held the post of shaikh of the Khātūnīya convent (he had another convent also in al-Sharaf al-A'lā[239])**—then the imām of the Ḥanbalites, who was at that time the shaikh 'Abdallāh, the blind,[240] one of the masters of the science of Qur'ān-reading at Damascus. After all these come five imāms to lead the 'compensatory' prayers.[241] So prayer goes on unceasingly in this mosque from early morning until the first third of the night, and the same applies also to the recitation of the Qur'ān. This is one of the proud distinctions of this blessed mosque.

The professors and teachers at the mosque. There are in this mosque several 'circles' of instruction in the various branches of [sacred] knowledge, while the traditionists read the books of Tradition, sitting in high chairs, and the Qur'ān-readers recite in pleasing voices morning and evening. | It contains 213 also a number of teachers of the Book of God, each of whom leans his back upon one of the pillars of the mosque, dictating to the children and making them recite, for they abstain from writing down the Qur'ān on their tablets out of reverence for the Book of God [lest it suffer pollution], and so recite it from dictation only. The teacher of writing is a different person from the teacher of the Qur'ān, and he uses books of poetry and the like for teaching them. The pupil moves from the class for religious instruction to the writing class, and then becomes expert in calligraphy, because the

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Mālikite imām of the Mosque, his brother Fakhr al-Dīn 'Abdallāh was three years younger (1275-1342) (*Durar*, I, 247; II, 286; III, 350).

[238] Son of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Rūmī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Marāghī, d. 1317. 'Imād al-Dīn shared with his brother Sharaf al-Dīn his father's offices, which included the headship of the Mu'īnīya College.

[239] The Sharaf al-A'lā was the stretch along the northern bank of the Barada, to the west of the city.

[240] Probably Muḥibb al-Dīn 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh (1283–1336) (*Durar*, II, 244).

[241] *Fawā'it*, literally 'derelictions', i.e. prayers performed at other than the regular hours to compensate for their omission at the proper times. Until this has been done, later prayers are not valid (see Mouradja d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'empire ottoman*, II, 153–4).

teacher of writing teaches nothing else. Among the professors at the mosque of Damascus were the learned and pious Burhān al-Dīn Ibn al-Firkaḥ, the Shāfi'ite;[242] the learned and pious Nūr al-Dīn Abu'l-Yusr Ibn al-Ṣāyigh, a man celebrated for his virtue and uprightness[243]—when Jalāl al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī was appointed to the office of [Chief] Qāḍī at Cairo, the robe of honour and diploma of appointment to the qāḍī-ship of Damascus was sent to Abu'l-Yusr, but he 214 declined to accept office; | the learned imām Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Jahbal,[244] one of the principal 'ulamā, who fled from Damascus when Abu'l-Yusr declined the qāḍī-ship of the city, fearing lest he should be invested as qāḍī (when news of this was brought to al-Malik al-Nāṣir, he appointed as qāḍī of Damascus the Grand Shaikh in Egypt, the pole of the mystics and tongue of the dialectics, 'Alā al-Dīn al-Qūnawī,[245] one of the principal doctors of the law); the worthy imām Badr al-Dīn 'Alī al-Sakhāwī the Mālikite[246] (God's mercy on them all).

The qāḍīs of Damascus. We have already spoken of the Chief Qāḍī of the Shāfi'ites in the city, Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qazwīnī. As for the qāḍī of the Mālikites, he was Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn Khaṭīb al-Fayyūm,[247] a

[242] Tāj al-Dīn al-Fazārī 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm b. Sibā' al-Firkāḥ (1227–91) was the most noted Shāfi'ī scholar of his age (*Dāris*, I, 108–9). His son Burhān al-Dīn Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm (1262–1328) succeeded him as muftī and shaikh of the Bādarā'īya college, but refused judicial office (*Dāris*, I, 208; *Durar*, I, 34–5).

[243] Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī (1277–1338), son of a former Chief Qāḍī and shaikh of the Dimāghīya college. He was offered the chief qāḍī-ship in 1327 and again in 1334. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has either mistaken his title (cf. n. 246 below), or confused him with his brother or nephew Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad, the latter of whom became Shāfi'ī qāḍī at Aleppo in 1343 (*Durar*, IV, 226).

[244] Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā (1271–1333), shaikh of the Bādarā'īya college after the death of Ibn al-Firkāḥ. His elder brother Muḥyi'l-Dīn Ismā'īl (1267–1340) was shaikh of the Atābekīya college and a noted muftī (*Durar*, I, 329, 383; *Dāris*, I, 133, 209).

[245] 'Alī b. Asmā'īl b. Yūsuf al-Qūnawī (i.e. of Qonya) (1269–1320), former shaikh of the Sa'īd al-Su'adā convent at Cairo, appointed qāḍī of Damascus in August 1327, and famous as the commentator of the mystical works of Ibn al-'Arabī (*Durar*, III, 24–8).

[246] Nūr al-Dīn (not Badr al Dīn) 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Naṣīr, one of the leading Mālikite scholars of his age, died shortly after his appointment as Chief Qāḍī at Cairo in 1355 (*Durar*, III, 79).

[247] Muḥammad, son of the Chief Qāḍī Mu'īn al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Ẓāfir

man of fine features and carriage, one of the principal religious leaders, being also Grand Shaikh of the Ṣūfīs. His substitute in | the judicial office was Shams al-Din ibn al-Qafṣī, 215 and his tribunal was in the Ṣamṣāmīya College.[248] The qāḍī of the Ḥanafites was ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ḥawrānī.[249] He was a judge of great severity; it was to him that wives and their husbands used to carry their cases, and a man had only to hear [spoken] the name of the Ḥanafite qāḍī to do justly [by his wife] of his own accord before coming in front of him. The qāḍī of the Ḥanbalites was the pious imām ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Musallam, one of the best of qāḍīs.[250] He used to go about on an ass of his, and died in [al-Madīna] the City of the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace), on a journey to the illustrious Ḥijāz.

Anecdote. There was living in Damascus [a certain] Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Taimīya,[251] one of the principal Ḥanbalite doctors there, a man greatly esteemed and able to discourse on various sciences, but with some kink in his brain. The people of Damascus idolized him and he used to preach to them from the minbar. One day he made a statement | of 216 which the doctors disapproved; they carried the case to al-Malik al-Nāṣir, who gave orders to dispatch him to Cairo. The qāḍīs and doctors were assembled in the audience hall of al-Malik al-Nāṣir, and Sharaf al-Dīn al-Zuwāwī, the Māli-

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al-Hamdānī al-Nuwairī. He was appointed to Damascus in 1319 and died there in 1337 (*Durar*, III, 404; *Dāris*, II, 16).

[248] See p. 138, n. 262. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sulaimān al-Qafṣī (i.e. of Gafsa, in Tunisia) d. 1343 (*Durar*, III, 447).

[249] Not identified.

[250] Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Musallam b. Mālik (1263–Oct. 1326) (*Durar*, IV, 258). His successor Muḥammad b. Sulaimān b. Qudāma (1267–1331) had the title of ʿIzz al-Dīn (*Durar*, III, 448).

[251] Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm, Ibn Taimīya, born at Ḥarrān in 1263, one of the most famous medieval theologians in Islam, and spiritual ancestor of the Wahhābī movement in Arabia. His imprisonment in Egypt lasted, with intervals, from 1307 to 1311; in 1313 he returned to Damascus, and was imprisoned there for some months in 1320 for refusal to obey the sultan's orders. His third and last imprisonment, in July 1326, was caused by his issue of a *fatwā* denouncing the visitation of saints' tombs. He died in prison in September 1328 and was accorded an immense funeral by the people of Damascus. It is difficult to understand how Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, as he claims below, actually saw him in the pulpit, if he entered Damascus only in August 1326 (see p. 118, n. 182).

kite,[252] made an accusation saying 'This man said so-and-so', and enumerating the charges [of heresy] brought against Ibn Taimīya. He produced attestations to this effect, and laid them before the Chief Qāḍī, who said to Ibn Taimīya 'What have you to say?' He replied 'There is no God but God', and when the judge repeated his question he made the same answer. Consequently al-Malik al-Nāṣir ordered him to be put in prison. He remained in prison for some years and composed while in prison a book on the exegesis of the Qur'ān, which he entitled *The Encompassing Sea* and which ran to about forty volumes. Later on his mother presented herself before al-Malik al-Nāṣir and complained [of her distressed condition] to him, so he ordered him to be set at liberty, [and he remained so] until the same thing was done by him again. I was in Damascus at that time and was present at his dis- 217 course | on the Friday, when he was preaching to the people from the mimbar and admonishing them. Amongst other things in his address he said 'Verily, God descends to the sky over our world in the fashion of this descent of mine', and stepped down one step of the minbar.[253] A Mālikite doctor known as Ibn al-Zahrā' contradicted him and denounced what he had said, but the populace rushed upon this doctor and beat him with their hands and shoes so severely that his turban fell off and a silken skullcap was found upon his head. Inveighing against him for wearing this,[254] they haled him before the house of 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn Musallam, the qāḍī of the Ḥanbalites, who ordered him to be imprisoned and afterwards inflicted a punishment upon him. The Mālikite and Shāfi'ite doctors protested against his being punished and carried the matter before the king of the amīrs, Saif al-Dīn Tankīz, who was a governor of the good and upright kind. Tankīz sent a report to al-Malik al-Nāṣir on the matter and 218 drew up a legal attestation | against Ibn Taimīya charging him with various objectionable statements, such as that a man who makes a threefold repudiation [of his wife] in a

[252] Jamāl al-Dīn (not Sharaf al-Dīn) Muḥammad b. Sulaimān, of Berber origin, Mālikite qāḍī at Damascus 1288–1317, and noted for his harshness (*Durar*, III, 448).

[253] By this action he contradicted the orthodox doctrine that the actions of God are not to be anthropomorphized.

[254] The wearing of silk garments is disapproved in Islamic law.

single phrase is bound only by a single repudiation,[255] and that a traveller the object of whose journey is to visit the Illustrious Tomb [of the Prophet] (God increase it in sweetness) ought not to [take advantage of the legal dispensation allowed to travellers to] curtail the prayers, and other things of a similar kind. He sent the attestation to al-Malik al-Nāṣir, who gave orders to imprison Ibn Taimīya in the citadel, which was done, and he remained in prison until his death.

The colleges of Damascus. You must know that the Shāfi'ites have at Damascus a number of colleges, the largest of which is the 'Ādilīya.[256] It is here that the Chief Qāḍī delivers judgment. Facing it is the Ẓāhirīya College,[257] containing the tomb of the al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, and in it are held the sessions of the qāḍī's substitutes. Amongst his substitutes was Fakhr al-Dīn al-Qibṭī [that is, the Copt],[258] whose father was one of the Coptic secretaries | and embraced Islam, and 219 Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Jumla,[259] who afterwards held the post of Chief Qāḍī of the Shāfi'ites and was dismissed for a matter which necessitated his removal from office.

Anecdote. There lived at Damascus the pious shaikh Ẓahīr al-Dīn al-'Ajamī, and Saif al-Dīn Tankīz, the Malik al-Umarā', was a disciple of his and held him in honour. He was present one day at the Hall of Justice before the Malik al-Umarā', and the four qāḍīs were present also. The Chief

[255] This was in fact the primitive doctrine, but was reformed by the second caliph, 'Umar, who ruled that a man who uses the formula of repudiation three times has made a triple and final repudiation of his wife and cannot recall his divorce. (The original doctrine has recently been reintroduced into the Egyptian courts.)

[256] Begun by Nūr al-Dīn and completed by Saladin's brother al-'Ādil (Saphadin, reigned 1196-1218) and the latter's son al-Mu'aẓẓam, to the north of the Great Mosque. The building, as well as the Ẓāhirīya college opposite it, is still intact.

[257] Built by the Mamlūk sultan al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baibars (1260-77) on the site of the Dār al-'Aqīqī, the house of Saladin's father, opposite and to the west of the 'Ādilīya college.

[258] Fakhr al-Dīn ('Pride of the Faith') was a title frequently given to converted Copts, and it is difficult to identify this personage among the numerous homonyms mentioned in this period.

[259] Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm b. Jumla al-Muḥajjī (1287-1338), from Muḥajja in Ḥawrān, appointed to the Shāfi'ite qāḍī-ship in 1332, and held it for two years, when he was dismissed and imprisoned for a time (to the indignation of the Shāfi'ites) (Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īya*, VI, 250). The account of this incident given in *Durar*, IV, 443, is on much the same lines as that of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

Qāḍī Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Jumla related a story. Ẓahīr al-Dīn said to him 'You lie', whereupon the qāḍī, indignant at this affront and exasperated against him, said to the amīr 'How dare he give me the lie in your presence?' The amīr replied to him 'Judge him yourself', and delivered Ẓahīr al-Dīn over to him, thinking that he would be content with that and do him no harm. But the qāḍī had him brought to the 'Ādilīya 220 College | and gave him two hundred stripes, after which he was paraded on an ass through the city of Damascus, with a crier who proclaimed his crime and every time that he came to the end of his proclamation gave him a blow on the back, for so is the custom in their city. When this was told to the Malik al-Umarā' he most strongly disapproved of it and had the qāḍīs and jurists assembled. They agreed unanimously that the qāḍī was at fault and that his judgment was contrary to [the accepted rules of] his school, for in al-Shāfi'ī's view a discretionary punishment must not amount to the [least] punishment laid down in the Law.[260] The Mālikite Chief Qāḍī, Sharaf al-Dīn, said: 'I give judgment that he is guilty of violating the Law', and a report to that effect was sent to al-Malik al-Nāṣir, who removed him from office in consequence.

The Ḥanafites [also] have many colleges [at Damascus], the largest of them being the college of the Sultan Nūr al-Dīn, where the Ḥanafite Chief Qāḍī delivers judgment.[261] The Mālikites have three colleges at Damascus: the Ṣamṣāmīya,[262] where the Mālikite Chief Qāḍī has his residence and holds his 221 tribunal; the | Nūrīya college established by the Sultan Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zankī;[263] and the Sharābishiya college, founded by the merchant Shihāb al-Dīn al-Sharābishī.[264] The

[260] The lightest punishment formally laid down in the Law is forty stripes for drinking intoxicants. For the Shāfi'ite rule see Abū Shujā', p 36, § 5, in E. Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht* (Berlin, 1897); in the Mālikite school no such limitation is placed on discretionary punishments.

[261] Built by Nūr al-Dīn on the site of the palace of the Umayyad caliph Hishām (d. 743), and still in existence in the Tailors' Market.

[262] Re-established in 1318 on an endowment created by Ghabriyāl (Gabriel) al-Asmarī, a converted Copt, who was subsequently charged with debasing the currency, mulcted of his fortune, and died in 1333/4, after which the college appears to have languished. It was situated near the Jābiya Gate (see n. 266 below).

[263] Usually ascribed to Saladin (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn), and more commonly called the Ṣalāḥiya college.

[264] Aḥmad b. Nūr al-Dawla 'Alī b. Abi'l-Majd, d. 1333. The name means

Ḥanbalites have many colleges, the largest of them being the Najmīya college.[265]

The gates of Damascus. The city of Damascus has eight gates, amongst them being the Farādīs [Gardens] Gate, the Jābiya Gate, and the Little Gate.[266] Between the two last-named is a cemetery in which lies a great number of Companions of the Prophet and martyrs and men of subsequent generations.

Muḥammad b. Juzayy adds: Very elegantly has a modern poet of Damascus said:

Her signs Damascus advertise a pleasant plot of Paradise, |
For see, in reckoning gate with gate, does not their number come to eight?[267]

Some of the tombs and places of visitation there. Amongst these, in the burial ground lying between the two gates, the Jābiya Gate and the Little Gate, is the grave of Umm Ḥabība daughter of Abū Sufyān, the Mother of the Faithful,[268] the grave of her brother Mu'āwiya the Commander of the Faithful, the grave of Bilāl, muezzin of the Apostle of God[269] (God bless and give him peace and be pleased with them all), and those of Uwais al-Qaranī[270] and Ka'b al-Aḥbār[271] (God be pleased with them).

'manufacturer of sharbūshes', the *sharbūsh* being a high conical cap worn by the Turkish soldiers.

[265] The Najmīya was a convent, not a college, founded by Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, father of Saladin. The chief Ḥanbalite colleges at this time were the Jawzīya, founded about 1230, and the 'Omarīya, in al Ṣāliḥīya, mentioned below (see p. 144, n. 290).

[266] The Farādīs or Paradise Gate was in the middle of the north wall, directly to the north of the Umayyad Mosque; the Jābiya Gate at the western end of Straight Street, the Little Gate in the south wall, eastward of the south-west corner of the city. See Fig. 2, p. 122.

[267] In the medieval view (cf. Dante), Paradise was constructed in eight stories, each with its own gate.

[268] I.e. wife of the Prophet. She died in Madīna in 664 and was almost certainly buried there.

[269] Bilāl b. Rabāḥ was an Abyssinian freedman of the Prophet and his first muezzin. He took part in the expedition to Syria and is said to have died at Damascus in 641. The cenotaph still exists in the cemetery outside the Little Gate (J. Sourdel-Thoumine, *Les monuments ayyoubides de Damas*, IV (Paris, 1950), 224-8).

[270] A Kufan of the South Arabian tribe of Murād, whose piety and asceticism gained him a reputation for saintliness at an early period. The traveller al-Harawī (d. 1215) mentions several sites reputed to be his grave and gives preference to that at al-Raqqa.

[271] The inscribed stone of the tomb of Ka'b still exists. He was a Jew

I found in [the book called] *The Book of the Marker [or Embroiderer] in explanation of the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim* by al-Qurṭubī[272] that a number of the Companions of the Prophet were joined by Uwais al-Qaranī on their way from al-Madīna to Syria. He died in the course of the journey, in an uninhabited and waterless wilderness, and they were perplexed about his [preparation for burial], but on alighting they found aromatics, grave clothes, and water. They were astonished 223 at this, | and having washed and shrouded him, prayed over him and buried him, they rode away. Then one of them said 'How can we leave his grave unmarked?' and they returned to the place, but could find no trace of the grave. Ibn Juzayy adds: It is said also that Uwais was killed at Ṣiffīn [while fighting] on the side of 'Alī (on him be peace),[273] and this is the truer story, if God will.

Next to the Jābiya Gate is the East Gate,[274] by which there is a cemetery containing the grave of Ubayy b. Ka'b,[275] the Companion of the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace), and also the grave of the pious devotee Rislān,[276] known as the Grey Falcon.

Anecdote on the reason of his being called by this name. It is related that the sainted shaikh Aḥmad al-Rifā'ī (God be pleased with him) had his place of residence at Umm 'Ubaida in the neighbourhood of the city of Wāsit.[277] Between the

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of Yemen, converted to Islam and frequently cited in early Muslim writings as an authority in biblical lore. Most early historians state that he was buried in Ḥimṣ, not in Damascus.

[272] Aḥmad b. 'Omar al-Anṣārī, a Mālikite scholar, died in Alexandria in 1258. For the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim see p. 144, n. 289.

[273] The plain of Ṣiffīn, on the right bank of the Euphrates opposite Qal'at Ja'bar, was the scene of an inconclusive battle in 656 between the Iraqī army led by 'Alī (see p. 256, n. 39) and the Syrian under the later Umayyad caliph Mu'āwiya.

[274] The East Gate, also called St. Paul's Gate, still exists. See Fig. 2.

[275] A Madinian, who was one of Muḥammad's secretaries and made one of the earliest recensions of the Qur'ān. He died, however, in Madīna about 650.

[276] Arslān (popularly pronounced Rislān) b. Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh al-Ja'barī, died *c.* 1150; he was a noted devotee, and was revered almost as a patron-saint at Damascus. The origin of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's story has not been traced.

[277] Shaikh Aḥmad al-Rifā'ī (d. 1182), founder of the Rifā'ī order of ṣūfīs. For him and the convent of his order at Umm 'Ubaida see vol. II (*Selections*, p. 86 and n. 6).

friend of God Most High, Abū Madyan Shu'aib b. al-Ḥusain,[278] | and al-Rifā'ī there was a spiritual brotherhood 224 and correspondence, and it is said that each of them used to salute his friend morning and evening and the other returned his salutations. Shaikh Aḥmad had a few palm trees near his convent, and one year, on cutting down their fruit as usual, he left one cluster of dates hanging and said 'This is for my brother Shu'aib'. The same year Shaikh Abū Madyan made the pilgrimage, and they met at the holy station at 'Arafa. Shaikh Aḥmad had with him his servitor Rislān, and as the two [saints] talked together and the shaikh told [Abū Madyan] about the bunch of dates, Rislān said to him 'By thy command, O my master, I shall fetch it'. The shaikh gave him permission, and he departed at once, came back to him with the cluster and laid it in front of them. Those in the convent related that on the evening of the day of 'Arafa they saw a grey falcon which | swooped down upon the palm tree, cut 225 through [the stalk of] that cluster and bore it off into the air.

To the west of Damascus is a cemetery known as the Tombs of the Martyrs,[279] containing the graves of Abu'l-Dardā', his wife Umm al-Dardā', Fuḍāla b. 'Obaid, Wāthila b. al-Asqa' and Sahl b. Ḥanẓalīya, of those Companions who took the oath [to the Prophet] under the tree (God be pleased with them all). In a village called al-Manīḥa, to the east and at a distance of four miles from Damascus, is the grave of Sa'd b. 'Obāda (God be pleased with him).[280] Over the grave there is a small and nicely built mosque, and at his head is a

[278] Abū Madyan, born near Seville about 1126, travelled to the East and on returning to the Maghrib became a leading exponent of ṣūfī mysticism. He died near Tlemsen in 1197, and his tomb at al-'Ubbād is still one of the chief sanctuaries in North Africa.

[279] Abu'l-Dardā, 'Uwaimir b. Zaid, of the Madinian tribe of Khazraj, an early authority on Tradition, acted as qāḍī in Damascus and died there in 651. Fuḍāla b. 'Obaid, of the Madinian tribe of Aws, was qāḍī of Damascus under the Umayyad caliph Mu'āwiya. Wāthila, a tribesman converted in the last year of Muḥammad's life, died in Jerusalem in 702 or 704. Sahl b. Ḥanẓalīya was a Madinian Companion who emigrated to Damascus.

[280] Al-Manīḥa is in the Ghūṭa. Sa'd b. 'Obāda was elected as chief of the tribe of Khazraj in Madīna after Muḥammad's death, but the election was voided by the subsequent election of Abū Bakr as caliph. Sa'd refused allegiance to Abū Bakr and his successor 'Omar, and emigrated to Syria, where he died in Ḥawrān in 636; according to the legend he was killed by the *jinn* (see p. 74, n. 18).

stone with this inscription: 'This is the grave of Sa'd b. 'Obāda, Chief of the Khazraj and Companion of the Apostle of God, God bless and give him peace.' In a village to the south of the town and a league distant from it, is the tomb of Umm Kulthūm, daughter of 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib by Fāṭima 226 (upon them | be peace).[281] It is said that her name was Zainab, and that the Prophet (God bless and give him peace) surnamed her Umm Kulthūm because of her resemblance to her maternal aunt, Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace). Over the tomb is a noble mosque and it is surrounded by dwelling-houses and possessed of endowments. The people of Damascus call it the grave of the Sitt ['Lady'] Umm Kulthūm. [In the western cemetery] there is another tomb which is said to be that of Sukaina, daughter of al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī (on him be peace).[282] In the congregational mosque of al-Nairab, one of the villages of Damascus, and in a chamber on its eastern side, is a tomb said to be that of the mother of Mary[283] (on her be peace). In a village called Dārayyā, four miles to the west of the town, are the graves of Abū Muslim al-Khawlānī and Abū Sulaimān al-Dārānī (God be pleased with them).[284]

Among the sanctuaries of Damascus which are celebrated for their blessed power is the Mosque of the Footprints (Masjid al-Aqdām), which lies two miles to the south of 227 Damascus,[285] alongside the main highway | which leads to the illustrious Ḥijāz, Jerusalem and Egypt. It is a large mosque, abundant in blessing, and possessing many endowments, and the people of Damascus hold it in great veneration. The footprints from which it derives its name are certain foot-

[281] The village is Rāwiya, three miles south of Damascus. The Damascene historian Ibn 'Asākir (vol. II, i, 80) denies the identity of this Umm Kulthūm with either of the two mentioned in this passage.

[282] This lady, famous in early Muslim history for her brilliant marriages and her 'salon', was almost certainly buried in Madīna. For al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī see p. 46, n. 140.

[283] Al-Nairāb was in the western outskirts of Damascus and no longer exists as a separate place. For the reputed association of the Holy Family with Damascus see below, p. 146, n. 297.

[284] Al-Khawlānī, a zealous tribal convert, died *c.* 682. Al-Dārānī, from this village of Dārayyā, a noted traditionist, d. 849/50.

[285] Now in the southern suburb of Damascus called al-Maidān. The legend which connects the footprint with Moses is denied by al-Harawī (see p. 139, n. 270).

prints impressed upon a rock there, which are said to be the print of the foot of Moses (on him be peace). Within this mosque there is a small chamber containing a stone with the following inscription upon it: 'A certain saintly man used to see the Chosen [i.e. Muḥammad] (God bless and give him peace) in his sleep, and he would say to him "Here is the grave of my brother Moses (on him be peace)".' On the road in the vicinity of this mosque is a place called the Red Sandhill; and near Jerusalem and Jericho there is a place which is also called the Red Sandhill and which is revered by the Jews.[286]

Anecdote. I witnessed at the time of the Great Plague at Damascus in the latter part | of the month of Second Rabīʿ 228 of the year 49 [July 1348],[287] a remarkable instance of the veneration of the people of Damascus for this mosque. Arghūn-Shāh, king of the amīrs and the Sultan's viceroy,[288] ordered a crier to proclaim through Damascus that the people should fast for three days and that no one should cook in the bazaar during the daytime anything to be eaten (for most of the people there eat no food but what has been prepared in the bazaar). So the people fasted for three successive days, the last of which was a Thursday. At the end of this period the amīrs, sharīfs, qāḍīs, doctors of the Law, and all other classes of the people in their several degrees, assembled in the Great Mosque, until it was filled to overflowing with them, and spent the Thursday night there in prayers and liturgies and supplications. Then, after performing the dawn prayer [on the Friday morning], they all went out together on foot carrying Qur'āns in their hands--the amīrs too barefooted.

[286] According to a Tradition reported by al-Bukhārī (see p. 154, n. 319 below), Muḥammad is said to have described the grave of Moses as being 'under the Red Sandhill' (*al-Kathīb al-aḥmar*) (*Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed Krehl, II, 359, 1) This is usually identified with a site south-west of Jericho, over which a mosque was built by the Mamlūk sultan Baibars in 1270, and subsequently popular as a pilgrimage shrine under the name of *Nebī Mūsā*. (See account of a visit by Sh. 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī in the eighteenth century in *ZDMG*, 1882, 364–5, and of a pre-1914 pilgrimage by H. H. Spoer in *ZDPV*, 1909, 207 ff.) The origin of the claim made for the presumed tomb in the Maidān of Damascus (and defended by a number of Muslim writers) seems to be unknown; cf., however, the number of sites in central Syria shown as tombs of persons associated with Moses; *Jewish Travellers*, ed. E. N. Adler (London, 1930), 124–5, and p. 85, n. 68 above.

[287] On his return journey from the Far East (*Selections*, p. 305).

[288] A mamlūk of al-Malik al-Nāṣir, arrested and executed in 1349.

229 The entire population of the city joined in the exodus, | male and female, small and large; the Jews went out with their book of the Law and the Christians with their Gospel, their women and children with them; the whole concourse of them in tears and humble supplications, imploring the favour of God through His Books and His Prophets. They made their way to the Mosque of the Footprints and remained there in supplication and invocation until near midday, then returned to the city and held the Friday service. God Most High lightened their affliction; the number of deaths in a single day reached a maximum of two thousand, whereas the number rose in Cairo and Old Cairo to twenty-four thousand in a day.

At the East Gate of Damascus is a white minaret, said to be that upon which Jesus (on him be peace) will descend, as is stated in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim.[289]

The suburbs of Damascus. Damascus is surrounded on all 230 sides except | the East by suburbs of extensive area, the interiors of which are pleasanter than the interior of Damascus itself, owing to the narrowness which characterizes its lanes. To the north of the city is the suburb of al-Ṣāliḥīya, a great city [in itself],[290] with a bazaar of unparalleled beauty, and containing a congregational mosque and a hospital. There is a college there, known as the college of Ibn 'Omar,[291] which is endowed for the benefit of aged men and men of mature age who desire to learn the holy Qur'ān, to whom, and to those who teach them, there is a regular issue of food and clothing sufficient for their needs. In Damascus there is a college of the same kind, known as the college of Ibn

[289] The descent of Jesus is included among the premonitory 'signs' of the Last Day in several Traditions quoted in the canonical collection made by Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj (817–73), second in reputation only to that of al-Bukhārī (see p. 154, n. 319 below); *Ṣaḥīḥ* (ed. Cairo 1349 H), XVIII, 22, 27, 29.

[290] The suburb owes its foundation to Abū 'Omar (not Ibn 'Omar) Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Qudāma al-Maqdisī, a pious Ḥanbalite who emigrated from Jerusalem to Damascus to escape from crusading territory, and died there in 1210. He first stayed at the mosque of Abū Ṣāliḥ, outside the East Gate, and when he and his followers moved to the flank of Mount Qāsiyūn and established the Ḥanbalite convent and college there, they were known as 'the Ṣāliḥīn', whence the suburb acquired the name of al-Ṣāliḥīya (*Dāris*, II, 100–1).

[291] The 'Omarīya convent and college mentioned in the preceding note and p. 139, n. 265 above. The building still exists, in a ruinous condition.

Munajjā.[292] The inhabitants of al-Ṣāliḥīya all adhere to the school of the imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (God be pleased with him).

Qāsiyūn and its blessed sanctuaries.[293] Qāsiyūn is a mountain on the north | of Damascus—al-Ṣāliḥīya lies at its foot- - 231 celebrated for blessedness, as being the place of ascent of the Prophets (on them be peace). Among its holy sanctuaries is the cave in which was born Abraham al-Khalīl (on him be peace). It is a long and narrow cave, over which [has been built] a large mosque, with a tall minaret. It was from that cave that he saw the star, the moon and the sun, as is related in the Exalted Book.[294] Behind the cave is his standing-place, to which he used to come out. I have seen also in the land of al-'Irāq a village called Burṣ, between al-Ḥilla and Baghdād, in which Abraham (on him be peace) is said to have been born. This village is near the town of Dhu'l-Kifl (on him be peace) and contains his grave.[295]

Another of its sanctuaries, to the west of the cave of Abraham, is the Cave of Blood, above which on the hill-side [can be seen] the blood of Abel, the son of Adam (on him | be 232 peace), God having caused a red trace of it to remain on the stones. This is the place in which his brother [Cain] killed him, and dragged his body to the cave. It is affirmed that in this cave have prayed Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Job, and Lot (God

[292] Attached to the Umayyad Mosque and called after its first shaikh, Zain al-Dīn Ibn al-Munajjā (d. 1296), one of the teachers of Ibn Taimīya (see p. 135, n. 251).

[293] This passage is from Ibn Jubair, rearranged and with verbal changes.

[294] Numerous legends from the early days of Islam associated Abraham with this cavern. The passage in the Qur'ān is in Sūra vi, 76–8:

'When the night darkened upon him, he saw a star; he said, "This is my Lord"; but when it set he said, "I love not those who set". Then when he saw the moon shining, he said "This is my Lord", but when it set he said, "If my Lord guide me not, I shall become one of those who stray". Then when he saw the sun shining, he said, "This is my Lord, this one is greater", but when it set he said, "O my people, I am quit of what ye ascribe as partners [to God]".'

[295] Dhu'l-Kifl is a prophet mentioned twice in the Qur'ān, and later identified with various biblical and other personages. The tomb in Kafil, south of al-Ḥilla, formerly called Bar Mallāḥa, was venerated by the Jews as the tomb of Ezekiel, with whom Dhu'l-Kifl was then identified. The birthplace of Abraham in al-'Irāq is usually called Kūthā Rabbā (see Harawī, 80; also G. Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 68). The name Burṣ seems not to be attested in any other source.

bless them all). Over it there stands a mosque of solid construction, to which one ascends by a flight of steps; it has rooms and conveniences for residence, and is opened every Monday and Thursday, when candles and lamps are lit in the cave.

Thirdly, there is a large cavern at the top of the mountain which is called by the name of Adam (on him be peace), and surmounted by a building. Somewhat below it is a cave known as the Cave of Hunger; the story is told that seventy of the Prophets (on them be peace) took refuge in it, having with them only one loaf, and it continued to circulate amongst them, as each preferred to give it to his neighbour, until they all died together (God bless them). Over this cave also is a regularly constructed mosque, and in it lamps are kept burning night and day. Each of these | mosques has numerous endowments appropriated to its upkeep.

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It is asserted also that between the Garden Gate and the congregational mosque of Qāsiyūn[296] is the burial place of seven hundred prophets—others say seventy thousand. Outside the city is the old cemetery, the burial place of the prophets and saints, and at the end of it that lies next to the orchards is a low-lying piece of ground, which has been invaded by water. This is said to be the burial place of seventy prophets, but has now become a hollow in which the water collects, and so is preserved from being defiled by the burial of anyone else there.

Al-Rabwa and the villages in its neighbourhood. At the far [west] end of Jabal Qāsiyūn is the blessed Hill (*al-Rabwa*) which is mentioned in the Qur'ān, 'furnished with security and a flowing spring', the refuge of Jesus the Messiah and his Mother (on them be peace).[297] It is one of the most beautiful sights in the world | and most pleasant of its resorts, and on it are lofty palaces, noble buildings, and choice gardens. The

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[296] 'Congregational mosque' (*jāmi'*) seems to be an error for 'mountain', possibly derived from a misreading of Ibn Jubair: 'In the northern direction from the Blessed (Umayyad) Mosque, and close to it, extending to Mount Qāsiyūn.'

[297] The tradition was supplemented by an elaborate legend which presented this as the scene of the Temptation (Ibn 'Asākir, II, i, 97–8). But the traveller al-Harawī roundly denies the identification of this Rabwa with the hill mentioned in the Qur'ān on the ground that Jesus never visited Damascus.

blessed Refuge is a small cave in the middle part of the hill, of the size of a small room, and opposite it is a one-roomed building which is said to have been the place of prayer of al-Khiḍr (on him be peace).[298] The people press forward eagerly to make a prayer in his hut. The Refuge has a small iron door, and is encircled by the mosque; the latter has circular ambulatories and a beautiful fountain to which the water comes down from above. It is led through a channel in the wall, which connects with a marble tank, into which the water falls. There is nothing to compare with it in beauty and strangeness of shape. Nearby are lavatories for the ceremonial ablutions, supplied with running water.

This blessed hill is the commencement of the gardens of Damascus, and contains the springs of its waters.[299] The water which flows from them is divided into seven streams, each taking a different direction, and the place where this is done is known as al-Maqāsim. The largest of these streams is the river called Tūra, which cuts through the bottom of the hill, where a channel has been carved out for it | in the solid 235 rock, like a great cave.[300] Sometimes a daring swimmer will plunge into the stream at the upper end of the hill and, swimming with powerful strokes under the water until he makes the passage of the channel, will come out at the lower end of the hill, but it is a terrible risk.

This hill overlooks the gardens which surround the city, and in beauty and extent of the prospect offered to the eyes may boast of a view which no other hill possesses, with these seven streams flowing away in diverse directions, so that the vision is dazzled by the charm of their junction and separation, their swift current and their gliding [across the plain]. But the elegance and perfect beauty of al-Rabwa are too great for any description to be adequate. It possesses many

[298] See p. 123, n. 203.

[299] The last clause is not in Ibn Jubair, and is factually incorrect, all the streams being derived from the Baradā river at different levels. See R. Tresse, 'L'irrigation dans la Ghouta de Damas', *Revue des études islamiques*, 1929, 459-573.

[300] This tunnel, cutting through an undulation of the hillside at Rabwa, is two and a half metres high, three metres broad, and twenty metres long. (Photograph *apud* Tresse, *loc. cit.*, opp. p. 470). The Tūra, together with the Yazīd canal ten metres above it, waters the northern section of Damascus and the Ghūta.

endowments of fields, orchards and immovable property, from which are met its expenses for [the stipends of] the imām and the muezzin and [the needs of] travellers.

Below al-Rabwa is the village of al-Nairab,[301] whose gardens are so numerous, their shades so reinforced, their 236 trees so thickset, | that no building of it is to be seen, except those of lofty height. It possesses a pleasant bath house and an exquisite congregational mosque, the court of which is paved with tessellated marble, and which has a fountain of surpassing beauty and a lavatory with many chambers supplied with running water.

To the south of this village is the village of al-Mizza, also called Mizzat Kalb, after the tribe of Kalb b. Wabra b. Tha'lab b. Ḥulwān b. 'Umrān b. Ilḥāf b. Quḍā'a, for it was a territory assigned to them.[302] From this village is derived the ethnic of the imām Ḥāfiẓ al-Dunyā Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. al-Zakī al-Kalbī al-Mizzī[303] and many others of the 'ulamā. It is one of the largest of the villages of Damascus, and possesses a remarkable congregational mosque and a fountain of spring water. Most of the villages of Damascus have their own bath-houses, congregational mosques, and bazaars, and their inhabitants are exactly like the inhabitants of the city in their ways of living. |

237 To the east of the town is a village known as Bait Ilāhīya, in which there stood formerly a church.[304] It is said that Āzar used to carve idols there, and then al-Khalīl (on him be peace) would break them. The church is now a magnificent congregational mosque, adorned with [a pavement of] tessellated marble, of various colours and arranged in the most admirable order and most decorative symmetry.

The pious endowments at Damascus, and some of the merits and customs of its inhabitants. The varieties of the endowments at Damascus and their expenditure are beyond com-

[301] See p. 142, n. 283.

[302] The modern Mezzé, two and a half miles west of Damascus, was at this time a considerable township. Kalb was the principal Arab tribe in Central Syria throughout the Middle Ages, but other sources derive the name from the grave at Diḥya al-Kalbī, a famous Companion of the Prophet.

[303] A noted contemporary traditionist, 1256–1341 (*Durar*, IV, 457).

[304] Generally called Bait Lihya, to the north-east of the city. It no longer exists. Āzar is the name given in Muslim tradition to Abraham's father (called in Hebrew tradition Terah).

putation, so numerous are they. There are endowments in aid of persons who cannot undertake the Pilgrimage, out of which are paid to those who go in their stead sums sufficient for their needs. There are endowments for supplying wedding outfits to girls, to those namely whose families are unable to provide them [with the customary paraphernalia]. There are endowments for the freeing of prisoners, and endowments | for 238 travellers, out of which they are given food, clothing, and the expenses of conveyance to their countries. There are endowments for the improvement and paving of the streets, because the lanes in Damascus all have a pavement on either side on which the foot passengers walk, while riders use the roadway in between.[305] Besides these there are endowments for other charitable purposes.

Anecdote. As I went one day along a lane in Damascus, I saw in it a young slave-boy out of whose hand there had just fallen a Chinese porcelain dish (which they call by the name of *ṣaḥn* [i.e. platter]) and had broken to bits. A crowd gathered round him and one of them said to him, 'Pick up the pieces, and take them with you to the custodian of the endowments for utensils'. So he picked them up, and the man went with him to the custodian, to whom the slave showed the broken pieces and thereupon received from him enough to buy a similar | platter. This endowment is one of the 239 best of good works, for the boy's master would undoubtedly have beaten him for breaking the dish, or at least have scolded him, while he too would have been heartbroken and upset because of that. The benefaction is thus indeed a mender of hearts—may God well reward him whose charitable zeal rose to the height of such an action.

The people of Damascus vie with one another in the building and endowment of mosques, religious houses, colleges, and sanctuaries.[306] They have a high opinion of the Moors and freely entrust them with the care of their moneys, wives and children. Every man [of them] who comes to the end of his resources in any district of Damascus finds without exception

[305] The Arabic term *raṣīf* implies a raised footwalk.

[306] The term *imāra* clearly implies endowment as well as construction, as is shown by the parallel passage in Ibn Jubair (275, 15–20). For sanctuaries (*mashāhid*) see p. 126, n. 212. The following passage, on the people of the Maghrib or 'Moors', is adapted from Ibn Jubair.

some means of livelihood opened to him, either as imām in a mosque, or as a reciter in a college, or by occupation of [a cell in] a mosque, where his daily requirements are supplied to him, or by recitation of the Qur'ān, or employment as a keeper at one of the blessed sanctuaries, or else he may be included in the company of Ṣūfīs who live in the convents, in 240 receipt of a regular | allowance of upkeep-money and clothing. Anyone who is a stranger there living on charity is always protected from [having to earn it at] the expense of his self-respect, and carefully sheltered from anything that might injure his dignity. Those who are manual workers or in domestic service find other means [of livelihood], for example as guardian of an orchard or intendant of a mill, or in charge of children, going with them in the morning to their lessons and coming back [with them] in the evening, and anyone who wishes to pursue a course of studies or to devote himself to the religious life receives every aid to the execution of his purpose.

It is one of the laudable customs of the people of Damascus that not a man of them breaks his fast during the nights of Ramaḍān entirely alone. Those of the standing of amīrs, qāḍīs and notables invite their friends and [a number of] faqīrs to breakfast at their houses. Merchants and substantial traders follow the same practice; the poor and the country 241 folk[307] for their part | assemble each night in the house of one of their own number or in a mosque, each brings what he has, and they all breakfast together.

When I first came to Damascus, a friendship grew up between the Mālikite professor Nūr al-Dīn as-Sakhāwī[308] and me, and he urged me to breakfast at his house during the nights of Ramaḍān. After I had visited him for four nights I had a stroke of fever and absented myself. He sent out in search of me, and although I excused myself on the ground of illness he would accept no excuse from me, so I went back to his house and spent the night there. When I wished to take

[307] *Al-bādiya*, which in Arabic of the Middle East is used of bedouins, is here used by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in the Maghribine sense (cf Dozy and de Goeje, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne par Edrîsî*, glossary, s.v.).

[308] The imām Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Naṣīr, later Chief Qāḍī at Cairo. Already mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa; see above, p. 134, n. 246.

leave the next morning, he would not hear of it but said to me, 'Consider my house as your own, or as the house of your father or brother', and gave orders to send for a doctor and to have prepared for my use in his own house everything that the doctor should prescribe in the way of medicine or diet. I remained in his house in this condition until the day of the Feast [of the Fast-breaking], when I joined in the festival prayers at the muṣallā[309] and God Most High healed me of what had befallen me. Meanwhile | all the money I had for my expenses was exhausted. Nūr al-Dīn, learning this, hired camels for me and gave me travelling provisions, etc., and money in addition, saying to me, 'It will come in useful for anything of importance that you may be in need of'—may God reward him well! 242

There was a worthy man at Damascus, one of the secretaries of al-Malik al-Nāṣir, called 'Imād al-Dīn al-Qaisarānī.[310] It was his custom, whenever he heard of a Moor arriving in Damascus, to send for him, to entertain him and to make him a generous gift. If he found him to possess religion and merit, he would bid him attach himself to his company, and there were a number of such men living permanently with him. The same practice is followed also by the worthy private secretary, 'Alā al-Dīn Ibn Ghānim,[311] and a number of others. There was [another] worthy man there among the notables of the city, namely the *Ṣāḥib* 'Izz al-Dīn al-Qalānisī,[312] who was distinguished by generous qualities, bountiful actions, outstanding merits | and munificence, and was possessed of vast wealth. They relate that when al-Malik 243

[309] The *Muṣallā* for festival prayers (see p. 13. n. 20) at Damascus was constructed by Saladin's brother Saphadin (al-Malik al-'Ādil Saif al-Dīn, d. 1218) on the Maidān road, a short distance south of the cemetery beyond the Jābiya Gate (see p. 139, n. 266).

[310] Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh (1272–1336), then *muwaqqi' al-dast* ('dais secretary', who officiated at public sessions) at Damascus, in high favour with Tankiz, and widely reputed for piety and benevolence (*Durar*, I, 378). The Qaisarānīs, like the Qalānisīs, were a family of Damascene notables.

[311] 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Salmān (1253–1336), famed for his universal courtesy and charity (*Durar*, III, 103–4). For his brothers see p. 89 above.

[312] Abū Ya'lā Ḥamza b. Asad (1251–1338), in the fifth generation from the Damascene historian of the same name (d. 1160), called 'Mayor of Damascus' (*ra'īs al-Shām*) and one of the most famous civilian officials of the time (*Durar*, II, 75).

al-Nāṣir came to Damascus 'Izz al-Dīn entertained him and all his ministers, mamlūks, and household officers for three days, and it was on that occasion that he gave him the title of *Ṣāḥib*.[313]

Among the merits of the Damascenes which deserve to be related is the fact that one of their ancient kings[314] when death came upon him gave directions that he should be buried by the *qibla* of the glorified mosque and that his grave should be concealed, and further set aside considerable endowments for Qur'ān-readers to recite a seventh part of the Holy Qur'ān every day after the dawn prayer on the eastern side of the Enclosure of the Companions (God be pleased with them), where his grave was situated. Now the recitation of the Qur'ān over his grave has gone on without interruption ever, and this goodly custom has remained in perpetual observance since his death.

It is a custom of the people of Damascus and all the other cities of that region to go out [of the covered part of the mosques] after the mid-afternoon prayer on the day of 244 'Arafa,[315] and to stand in the courtyard of the mosques, | such as the Sanctuary of Jerusalem, the Umayyad congregational mosque [at Damascus], etc. Their imāms stand with them bare-headed, their bodies humbly bowed in prayer, with lowly voice and downcast eyes, entreating the blessing of God. Observing thus the hour in which the homagers of God Most High and pilgrims to His House stand at 'Arafāt, they continue in humble reverence and prayer and earnest supplication, imploring the favour of God Most High through the Pilgrims to His House, until the sun sets, when they hurriedly disperse, in imitation of the rush of the pilgrims, weeping that it has been denied them to join in that illustrious station at 'Arafāt, and praying God Most High that He may bring them thither and not withhold from them the

313 Literally 'Companion', a title occasionally given to viziers. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir accompanied the Egyptian army to Syria on the occasion of the Mongol invasion in 1302, and stayed in Damascus from 22 April to 20 May 1703 (Zetterstéen, 113). He stayed in Damascus again in January 1310 (see p. 159, n. 15), and from 18 February to 1 March and 8 to 23 May 1313, before and after his pilgrimage in that year.

314 Apparently unidentifiable.

315 The ninth of Dhu'l-Ḥijja. For the ceremonies at 'Arafa (or 'Arafāt) see p. 244 below.

blessing of His acceptance of that which they have done [on this day].

They observe also an admirable ceremony in accompanying funerals.[316] They walk in front of the bier while the Qur'ān-readers intone the Qur'ān in beautiful voices and with affecting modulations, at which men's souls all but take wings for pity. They pray | over the corpses in the congregational 245 mosque,[317] opposite the enclosure. If the dead man was one of the imāms of the mosque, or one of its muezzins or servitors, they bring him in while the recitation continues to the place where the prayer is held; if he was not one of these, they interrupt the recitation at the door of the mosque and bring in the bier [in silence]. In the case of some persons, a meeting of commemoration is held in the western colonnade of the court, near the Gate of the Post. They sit down, having in front of them copies of the Qur'ān in chests from which [the Qur'ān-readers] recite,[318] and [the masters of ceremonies] raise their voices to announce the names of all the great ones and notables of the town who come to take part in the funeral service, saying, 'In the name of God, so-and-so al-Dīn' such as Kamāl, Jamāl, Shams, Badr and the rest. When they finish the recitation of the Qur'ān, the muezzins rise and say, 'Think on and consider well your prayer for so-and-so, the man of piety and learning', describing him with various epithets indicative of good qualities. They then pray over him and take him away to | his place of burial. 246

The people of India also observe an admirable ceremony at funerals, which even surpasses this. They assemble at the sepulchre of the deceased on the morning of the third day after his burial. The sepulchre is garnished with fine cloths, and the tomb itself is covered with rich hangings and surrounded by sweet-scented flowers, such as roses, eglantine, and jasmine, for these flowers are perennial with them. They bring also lemon and citrus trees, tying on their fruits if they

[316] Loosely reproduced from Ibn Jubair, and less critical in tone.

[317] For the funeral ceremonies in the mosque, see E. W. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, chap. XXVIII.

[318] A chest (*rab'a*) is a box containing a copy of the Qur'ān divided into thirty sections (called *juz'*, translated below as 'thirtieth'), each reader taking one section, for the purpose of 'sealing' or making a recitation of the whole of the sacred text.

have none, and a marquee is put up to shade the party. The qāḍīs, amīrs and other persons of like rank come and take their seats. Facing them are the Qur'ān-readers, each one of whom, when the Holy Qur'ān-chests are brought, takes a thirtieth. At the end of the recitation, agreeably intoned by the readers, the qāḍī makes an invocation. He stands upright, and delivers an oration prepared for the occasion, referring in it first to the deceased, whom he mourns in [eulogizing] 247 verses | of poetry, then to his relatives, consoling them for his death, and lastly to the Sultan, in a prayer for him. When the Sultan's name is mentioned the audience rise and bow their heads towards the quarter in which the Sultan then is. The qāḍī then resumes his seat, and rose-water is brought in and sprinkled on those present, beginning with the qāḍī, then the person next to him, and so on until everyone has been included. After this candied sugar, that is to say jalap, is brought in, dissolved in water, and they serve it to all, beginning with the qāḍī, and the person next to him [and so on]. Finally the betel is brought. They make much of this, and offer it to their guests as a mark of respect. When the Sultan gives anyone some betel, it is a greater honour than a gift of gold or official robes, and when a man dies his family 248 eat no betel until the day of this ceremony. | The qāḍī, or whoever replaces him, takes some leaves of it and gives them to the heir of the deceased, who eats them, and the party thereupon disperses. A description of the betel will be given later, if God Most High will.

What lectures I attended at Damascus, and those of its scholars who gave me licence to teach.[319] In the Umayyad mosque (God keep it ever filled with His praise) I heard the whole of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of the imām Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī (God be pleased with him) explained by the aged shaikh, the goal of travel from all quarters, the conjoiner of the younger with the elder generations, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Abū Ṭālib b. Abu'l-Nu'm b. Ḥasan b. 'Alī

[319] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa concludes his account of Damascus with a statement of the diplomas or 'licences' given to him by noted scholars, and quotes in full the diploma in which he takes particular pride, as conferring on him the authority of the great scholars of Damascus and of once glorious Baghdād to teach the venerated *Saḥīḥ*, or Book of Sound Traditions of the Prophet, of al-Bukhārī (d. 870).

b. Bayan al-Dīn Muqri' al-Ṣāliḥī known as Ibn al-Shiḥna al-Ḥajjār;[320] [it was completed] in fourteen sittings, the first of them on Tuesday the 15th of Ramaḍān the Exalted,[321] in the year | seven hundred and twenty-six, and the last on 249 Monday the 28th of the same, the text being read by the imām and ḥāfiẓ, the historian of Damascus, 'Alam al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Birzālī, of Seville by origin and of Damascus by residence,[322] in the presence of a large audience, whose names were noted by Muḥammad b. Ṭughrīl b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ghazzāl al-Ṣairafī; the shaikh Abu'l-'Abbās al-Ḥajjār having heard the exposition of the entire book[323] from the shaikh and imām Sirāj al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥusain b. Abū Bakr al-Mubārak b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. 'Alī b. [al-] Muslim b. 'Imrān | al-Rabī'ī al- 250 Baghdādī al-Zabīdī the Ḥanbalite, in the latter part of Shawwāl and the first part of Dhu'l-Qa'da of the year six hundred and thirty[324] in the Muẓaffarī congregational mosque at the foot of Mount Qāsiyūn outside Damascus, and having received also a licence to teach the whole book from the two shaikhs Abu'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Omar b. al-Ḥusain b. al-Khalaf al-Qaṭī'ī, the historian, and 'Alī b. Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. Rūba al-Qalānisī, the druggist, both of Baghdād, and [for the sections] from the 'Chapter of the Jealousy and Passion of Women' to the end of the book from Abu'l-Munajjā 'Abdallāh b. 'Omar b. 'Alī b. Zaid b. al-Lattī al-Khuzā'ī of Baghdād; all these four having heard its exposition from the shaikh Sadīd al-Dīn Abu'l-Waqt 'Abd al-Awwal b. 'Īsā b. Shu'aib b. Ibrāhīm al-Sijzī of Herāt, the Ṣūfī, at Baghdād in the year five hundred and fifty-three, who said:

[320] The life and genealogy of this scholar (c. 1227–1330) is given, with some small variations, in *Durar*, I, 142–3. He served as a catapultier (*ḥajjār*) in the citadel of Damascus under the Ayyūbid sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (1240–49), hence his appellative (altered in the printed text to al-Ḥijāzī).

[321] This date is irreconcilable with the astronomical calendar (by which Ramaḍān 15 was a Friday in 726/1326), or with Ibn Baṭṭuṭa's own date above (see p. 118, n. 182 above). Ramaḍān 15 could have been a Tuesday (4 August) in 727/1327 or, with a shift of one day from the astronomical calendar, in 730/1320 (3 July).

[322] Al-Birzālī (1267–1338) was one of the most famous scholars and traditionists of his time; see *E.I.*, s.v.

[323] Here follows the chain of authorities by oral transmission back to the author of the work, without which the diploma lacked authentic value.

[324] I.e. August 1233, when he was only six years old, or a little older.

251 '[The tradition] was taught to me by | the imām Jamāl al-Islām Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Muẓaffar b. Muḥammad b. Dā'ūd b. Aḥmad b. Ma'ād b. Sahl b. al-Ḥakam al-Dā'ūdī, the text being read before him in my hearing at Būshanj in the year four hundred and sixty-five, he [in turn] saying: It was taught to me by Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Ḥawīya b. Yūsuf b. Aiman al-Sarakhsī, the text being read before him in my hearing in Ṣafar of the year three hundred and eighty-one, he saying: It was taught to me by [Abū] 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Miṭr (Maṭar) b. Ṣāliḥ b. Bishr b. Ibrāhīm al-Farabrī, the text being read before him in my hearing at Farabr in the year three hundred and sixteen, he saying: It was taught to me by the imām Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī (God be pleased with him) at Farabr in the year two hundred and forty-eight, and afterwards a second time in the year fifty-three.'

Amongst the scholars of Damascus who gave me a general 252 licence were the above-mentioned shaikh Abu'l- | 'Abbās al-Ḥajjār, on my request for[325] it, when he gave it to me orally; the shaikh and imām Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqdisī,[326] who was born in Rabī' I of the year six hundred and fifty-three [April 1255]; the pious shaikh and imām 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Najdī;[327] the imām of imāms Jamāl al-Dīn Abu'l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf b. al-Zakī 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yūsuf al-Mizzī al-Kalbī,[328] most retentive of ḥāfiẓ's; the shaikh and imām 'Alā al-Dīn 'Alī b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Shāfi'ī;[329] the shaikh and imām the Sharīf Muḥyi'l-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-'Alawī;[330] the shaikh and imām, the traditionist Majd

[325] This is the reading of three MSS, against the reading adopted in the printed text ('on his own initiative').

[326] Traditionist and shaikh of the Ḍiyā'īya college, d. 1330 (*Durar*, I, 180).

[327] Traditionist, died in Jerusalem 1337/8 (*Durar*, II, 340). The text prints his ethnic as al-Bajadī.

[328] See p. 148, n. 303 (the reading al-Muzanī in the text is an obvious error). His wife 'Ā'isha bint Ibrāhīm was also a noted teacher (*Durar*, II, 235).

[329] Ibn al-Muhtār (1251–1335), imām at the Mosque of the Head (see above, p. 130) and notary 'beneath the Clock' (*Durar*, IV, 143).

[330] This Muḥyi'l-Dīn, known as Ibn Tabāṭabā, died in 721/1321, according

al-Dīn al-Qāsim b. 'Abdallāh b. Abū 'Abdallāh b. al- | Mu'allā 253 al-Dimashqī,[331] born in the year six hundred and fifty-four; the learned shaikh and imām Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Fallāḥ b. Muḥammad al-Iskandarī;[332] the shaikh and imām, the friend of God Most High, Shams al-Dīn b. 'Abdallāh b. Tammām;[333] the brother shaikhs Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad and Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abdallāh, sons of Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh b. Abū 'Omar al-Maqdisī;[334] the devout shaikh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abu'l-Zahrā' b. Sālim al-Hakkārī;[335] the pious woman shaikh, Umm Muḥammad 'Ā'isha, daughter of Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Salāma al-Ḥarrānī;[336] and the pious woman shaikh, the goal of the world's travel, Zainab, daughter of Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Aḥmad al-Maqdisī.[337] All of these gave me | a general licence [to teach] in the year 254 [seven hundred and] twenty-six at Damascus.[338]

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to *Durar*, IV, 428; the person referred to by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa is probably the traditionist and jurist Badr al-Dīn al-'Adawī, known as Ibn al-Sakākirī (1256–1331).

[331] Not identified.

[332] Ḍiyā' al-Dīn (1264–1329), according to *Durar*, I, 195.

[333] Probably the son of 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Tammām (1237–1318) *Durar*, II, 241).

[334] Two of the 'Six Brothers' who gained some notoriety at this time, descendants of the Abū 'Omar al-Maqdisī referred to above, p. 144, n. 290. Muḥammad (1264–1345) is called by Ibn Ḥajar 'Izz al-Dīn (*Durar*, III, 287) and 'Abdallāh (1265–1331) Sharaf al-Dīn (*Durar*, II, 240).

[335] 1256–1336; *Durar* (III, 442) gives his father's name as Abu'l-Zahr and his ethnic as al-Ghasūlī.

[336] 1249–1336; one of sixteen 'Ā'ishas who were scholars in Tradition in this century. According to *Durar* (II, 238), she gained a living by sewing.

[337] 1248–1339; one of twenty-three Zainabs mentioned in *Durar*. She suffered from ophthalmia from childhood and never married, but travelled extensively in the Near East and was much sought after as a teacher of Tradition (*Durar*, II, 117–18).

[338] With all his industry it is a little difficult to see how Ibn Baṭṭūṭa obtained all these diplomas in the space of twenty-two days. He had time also to marry a wife and to beget a son, as he relates in connexion with his return to Damascus in 1348 (*Selections*, p. 304).

CHAPTER III

From Damascus to Mecca

WHEN the new moon of Shawwāl appeared in the above-mentioned year [1 September 1326], the Ḥijāz caravan went out to the outskirts of Damascus and encamped at the village called al-Kiswa,[1] and I set out on the move with them.[2] The commander of the caravan was Saif al-Dīn al-Jūbān, one of the principal amīrs,[3] and its qāḍī was Sharaf al-Dīn al-Adhru'ī[4] [from Adhru'] in Ḥawran. In the same year the professor of the Mālikites, Sadr al-Din al-Ghomārī,[5] also went on pilgrimage. My journey was made with a tribe of bedouin Arabs called al-'Ajārima,[6] whose amīr was Muḥammad b. Rāfi', a man occupying a high position amongst the amīrs. We marched from al-Kiswa to a village called al-Ṣanamain,[7] a big place, and marched on from there to the township of Zur'a,[8] a small place in the district of Ḥawran. After a halt in its vicinity we travelled on to the town of Boṣrā; it [too] is a small place.[9] It is the usual practice

[1] Kiswé, on the Nahr al-A'waj (Pharpar), lies ten miles south of Damascus, from which it is separated by a low ridge; the site is believed to be that of the pre-Islamic residence of the Arab chiefs of Ghassān.

[2] Leaving his newly married wife behind.

[3] Jūban al-Manṣūrī, died at Damascus 1327/8 (*Durar*, I, 542; *Nujūm*, IX, 274).

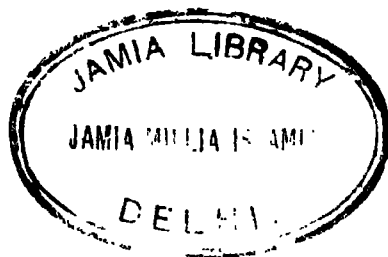
[4] Probably Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, died in 1341 (*Durar*, I, 240).

[5] Probably Yūsuf b. Aḥmad, known as Ibn Ghannūm, 1287–1333 (*Durar*, IV, 447).

[6] Ajram was a branch of the southern Arab tribe of Khath'am.

[7] Twenty miles south of Kiswé, on the former Roman highway running south from Damascus.

[8] The modern Ezra', on the south-western edge of the volcanic tract called al-Lejā, fifteen miles south of al-Sanamain.

[9] Boṣra (Eski Sham), twenty-seven miles south of Ezra', was a Roman city, capital of Ḥawrān, and site of an early Christian cathedral. According to Arab tradition, it was a terminus of the caravans which carried spices and other Yemenite goods from Mecca to Syria, and is consequently associated with the early life of Muḥammad (see p. 205, n. 75). He is said to have

of the caravan to stop there for four nights, so that any who have remained behind at Damascus to finish off their business may make up on them.[10] It was at Boṣrā that | the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) came before his mission, while engaged in trading on Khadīja's account, and in the town [there is shown] the place where his she-camel couched, over which a great mosque has been erected. The inhabitants of Ḥawran flock to this town [with their produce] and the pilgrims supply themselves here with provisions for the journey. They travel next to the Pool of Zīza,[11] where they stop for a day, then go on to al-Lajjūn,[12] where there is running water, and thence to the castle of al-Karak. 255

Al-Karak is one of the most marvellous, inaccessible, and celebrated of fortresses, and it is called 'the Castle of the Raven'.[13] The river-bed encircles it on all sides, and it has but one gate, the entrance to which is hewn in the living rock, as also is the entrance to its vestibule. This castle is used by the kings as a stronghold and place of refuge in times of adversity, and it was to it that al-Malik al-Nāṣir fled. For he was invested with the kingship while yet a child, and the control was seized by his mamlūk Salār, acting as his viceroy. | Al-Malik al-Nāṣir gave out that he wished to make the Pilgrimage, the amīrs consented to his wish, and he set off to perform the Pilgrimage, but on reaching the Pass of 'Aila[14] he escaped to the castle and remained there for some years, until eventually the amīrs of Syria sought him out and the mamlūks assembled around him.[15] In the meantime the royal 256

met here the monk Baḥīrā, who foretold his future prophetic mission (see article 'Baḥīrā' in *E.I.*).

[10] The pilgrim caravans were at all times occasions for trade, especially as they were often exempted from the ordinary transit and customs duties.

[11] The modern Jīza, a station on the Hejaz railway, twenty miles south of 'Ammān.

[12] Twelve miles north-west of al-Karak

[13] Al-Karak, 'Krak des Moabites', was a Crusaders' castle, built in 1145, captured by al-'Ādil for Saladin in 1188, subsequently an Ayyūbid principality, and under the Mamlūk sultans a separate province (*niyāba*) and state prison, under the command of a high officer.

[14] 'Aqabat Aila, from which the port of Aila took its modern name of Aqaba, is properly the pass through the ridge north of the town (Jabal Umm Nusaila), on the road from 'Aqaba to Ma'ān.

[15] Al-Nāṣir's second abdication took place in January 1309, he being then twenty-four years of age. His third and final assumption of the sultanate, engineered by the governor of Aleppo, Qarāsunqur (see above, p. 106, n.

authority had been exercised by Baibars the 'Shashnakīr', who was Amīr of the Table[16] and called himself al-Malik al-Muẓaffar (it was he who built the Baibarsīya Convent,[17] near the convent of Sa'īd al-Su'adā' which was built by Saladin b. Ayyūb). When al-Malik al-Nāṣir led the troops against him, Baibars fled to the desert, but was pursued by the troops, seized, and brought to al-Malik al-Nāṣir, who ordered him to be executed and executed he was. Salār also was seized and confined in a dungeon until he died of starvation, and it is said that he ate carrion in his hunger—God preserve us from the like.[18]

257 The caravan stopped | outside al-Karak for four days, at a place called al-Thanīya,[19] and made preparations for entering the wilderness. Thence we travelled to Ma'ān, which is the last town in Syria,[20] and descended through the Pass of al-Ṣawān into the desert, of which the saying goes: 'He who enters it is lost, and he who leaves it is born.' After a march of two days we halted at Dhāt Ḥajj, a place of subterranean water-beds with no habitations,[21] then on to Wādī Baldaḥ[22] (but there is no water in it), and then to Tabūk.[23] This is the

151), began with his entry into Damascus in January 1310, to the enthusiastic acclaim of the troops and citizens.

[16] *Shāshnakīr*, *Jāshankīr*, etc. are Arabic deformations of the Persian *chashnī-nigīr*, i.e. 'taster' of the food served to the sultan. Rukn al-Dīn Baibars was a Circassian mamlūk of Sultan Qalā'ūn. He was executed on 16 April 1310, and buried in the convent that he had founded. See p. 43, n. 129.

[17] The convent, built on the site of the palace of the viziers of the Fāṭimid caliphs, a little way south of the Bāb al-Naṣr, is described in Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, I, 1 (Paris 1894), 161-6.

[18] Sallār, who had been forced against his will to assume the vice-sultanate under Baibars, died at the end of 1310. The reading of the word after 'ate' is uncertain; the two most likely readings are *jīfa* ('carrion') and *khuffaihi* ('his shoes').

[19] Probably identical with Khirbet Tathniya; see *ZDPV*, II (1879), 134.

[20] Ma'ān was at this time practically deserted, though still a sub-district of the province of al-Karak, as the whole region was occupied by bedouins of the Judhām tribe, including the Banū Ṣakhr around al Karak itself. 'Aqabat al-Ṣawān (or al-Ṣawwān, 'of the Flints') is now called 'Aqabat al-Ḥijāzīya, a station on the Hejaz railway, thirty-five miles south of Ma'ān.

[21] Dhāt Ḥajj, a station at 29° 05′ N., 36° 08′ E.

[22] Baldaḥ is identified by A. Musil (*Northern Heǵâz*, 329) with the valley of al-Bazwā, about fifty kilometres south of Dhāt Ḥajj and near the station of al-Hazm at 28° 41′ N., 36° 14′ E.

[23] Tabūk, a station on the Hejaz railway, was the objective of an expedition led by Muḥammad in 631.

place which was raided by the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace). It has a spring which used to yield a scanty supply of water, but when the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) went down to it and used it for his ablutions it gave an abundant flow of running water and continues to do so to this day, through the blessed power of the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace). It is the custom of the Syrian pilgrims, on reaching the camping ground of Tabūk, to take their weapons and unsheath | their swords, charge upon 258 the camp and strike the palms with their swords, saying 'Thus did the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) enter it'.

The huge caravan encamps near the spring referred to, and every one of them slakes his thirst from it. They remain here for four days to rest themselves and to water the camels and lay in supplies of water for the fearsome wilderness between Tabūk and al-'Ulā. It is the practice of the water-carriers to take up their positions at the sides of this spring, and they have tanks made of buffalo hides, like great reservoirs, from which they water the camels and fill the large waterbags and ordinary waterskins.[24] Each amīr or person of rank has a [private] tank from which his camels and those of his retinue are watered, and their waterbags filled; the rest of the people arrange with the watercarriers to water the camel and fill the waterskin of each person for a fixed sum of money.

The caravan then sets out from Tabūk and pushes on speedily | night and day, for fear of this wilderness. Halfway 259 through is the valley al-Ukhaiḍir, which might well be the valley of Hell (God preserve us from it).[25] One year the pilgrims suffered severe distress in this place, by reason of the samoom-wind[26] which blows [there], their water supplies dried up, and the price of a drink of water rose to a thousand dīnārs, but both seller and buyer perished. The story of this is inscribed on one of the rocks in the valley. [Going on] from

[24] The large water-bag (*rāwiya*) was made of several skins sewed together and carried on camels. The ordinary waterskin (*qirba*) is a goat-skin.

[25] 'The halting-place of al-Ukhaydir (al-Akhzar) lies in a deep valley enclosed by high slopes, in places covered with lava. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa rightly compares this to a valley of hell' (Musil, 329). The name, 'little green place', is obviously ironical. Al-Akhzar is situated at 28° 08′ N., 37° 08′ E.

[26] The simoom or 'poison' wind; see Yule's *Marco Polo*, I, 120, n. 5.

there, the caravan halts at the Pool of al-Mu'aẓẓam, a vast [basin], called after al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam of the house of Ayyūb,[27] in which the rain-water collects in certain years, but which is generally dry in others.

On the fifth day after leaving Tabūk, they reach the well of al-Ḥijr—the Ḥijr of Thamūd[28]—which has an abundance of water, but not one of the pilgrims draws of it, however violent their thirst, following the example set by the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace), when he passed it by 260 on | the expedition to Tabūk. For he drove on his riding camel, giving orders that none should water from it, and those who had used it to make dough fed their camels with it. At this place are the dwellings of Thamūd, in some hills of red rock.[29] They are hewn out and have carved thresholds, such that anyone seeing them would take them to be of recent construction. Their bones lie crumbling inside these houses—'verily, in that is a warning example'.[30] The place of kneeling of the she-camel of Ṣāliḥ (on him be peace) is between two hills there, and in the space between them are the traces of a mosque, in which the pilgrims perform a prayer.

From al-Ḥijr to al-'Ulā is half a day's journey or less. Al-'Ulā is a large and pleasant village[31] with palm gardens and

[27] Qal'at al-Mu'adhdham, on the Hejaz railway, thirty-six miles south-east of al-Akhzar, named either after Saladin's brother Tūrān-Shāh, who held Yemen and other parts of Arabia until 1181, or more probably after Saladin's nephew al-Mu'aẓẓam 'Īsā, sultan of Damascus 1218–27.

[28] Now called Madā'in Ṣāliḥ ('the cities of Ṣāliḥ', see the following note). 26° 49′ N., 38° 00′ E.

[29] The story of the impious tribe of Thamūd is frequently related in the Qur'ān and also referred to in early Arabian poetry. As told in the Qur'ān (e.g. Sura xi, 64–71), the prophet Ṣāliḥ, one of their own number, preached the doctrine of Muslim monotheism to Thamūd, and miraculously produced a live she-camel from the rock as an attestation of his mission. His unbelieving fellow-citizens slaughtered the camel and were struck dead in their houses. The north-Arabian tribe of Thamūd is mentioned in Assyrian and Greek sources, and Pliny mentions also al-Ḥijr ('Hegra') as one of their settlements. Al-Ḥijr itself, as its name (south-Arabian *ḥijr* = town) implies, was an ancient station on the great trade route between Yemen and the the marts of Syria. The 'houses' referred to in the text are the rock-hewn tombs of the ancient Thamudites; it was probably the existence of these tombs which gave rise to the parable of the impious Thamūd, to which was attached the memory of some earlier monotheistic preaching in Arabia connected with the name of 'Ṣāliḥ', the 'righteous one' (See also E. H. Palmer's translation of the Qur'an, note on Sūra vii, 77.)

[30] Quotation from the Qur'ān, Sūra iii, 11, etc.

[31] Al-'Elā, eighteen miles south of Madā'in Ṣāliḥ.

watersprings at which the pilgrims halt for the space of four nights. They provision themselves and wash their clothes, and also deposit here any surplus of provisions they may have, taking on with them only the amount | of their strict necessities. The inhabitants of this village are trustworthy persons. This is the limit to which the Christian merchants of Syria may come, and beyond which they may not pass, and they trade in provisions and other goods with the pilgrims here. 261

The caravan then sets out from al-'Ulā and encamps on the day following the resumption of the journey in the valley known as al-'Iṭās (?).[32] It is a place of violent heat, in which the fatal samoom-wind blows. It blew up one year on the caravan, and none but a few of the pilgrims escaped with their lives; that year is known as the year of the amīr al-Jāliqī.[33] After this they encamp at Hadīya, which is a place of subterranean waterbeds in a valley;[34] they dig pits in it and the water comes up, but brackish. On the third day they alight outside the sanctified city [of al-Madīna], the holy and illustrious.

Ṭaiba, the city of the Apostle of God[35] *(God bless and give him peace, exalt and ennoble him!)*. On the evening of the same day, after sunset, we entered the holy sanctuary and reached at length the illustrious mosque. | We halted at the Gate of Peace[36] to pay our respects, and prayed at the noble 262

[32] This name is variously written, and has not been identified.

[33] *Quṭlugh or Quṭlughtimur al-Nāṣirī, son-in-law of the amīr al-Jāliq*, governor of Gaza, commanded the Syrian pilgrim-caravan in 708/1309 (*Durar*, I, 74), but there appears to be no other record of this disaster to the caravan.

[34] Station on the Hejaz railway at 25° 32′ N., 38° 47′ E.

[35] The name *Ṭaiba*, connected with the Arabic root meaning 'sweet, pleasant', is frequently applied to al-Madīna in medieval works, and explained by an early (though probably apocryphal) tradition according to which two Arabs returning from Syria told the Prophet that they had met *al-Dajjāl* (the Islamic Anti-Christ), who had said 'I shall trample the whole earth save Mecca and Ṭaiba', whereupon Muḥammad turning to his followers, said 'Rejoice, ye Muslims; this is Ṭaiba, which Anti-Christ shall not enter' (*Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, VI, 374, 413). The word al-Madīna is itself the Aramaic term for 'city', probably applied already by the Jewish residents in the region before Islam to its chief settlement, then known as Yathrib, but later explained as a shortened form of Madīnat al-Nabī, 'the City of the Prophet'.

[36] Pilgrims to the mosque always enter from the Gate of Peace (*Bāb*

Garden[37] between the tomb [of the Apostle] and the noble pulpit. We kissed the fragment that remains of the palm-trunk that whimpered for the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace), which is now attached to a pillar standing between the tomb and the mimbar, on the right as one faces the qibla.[38] We paid the meed of salutation to the lord of men, first and last, the intercessor for sinners and transgressors, the apostle-prophet of the tribe of Hāshim from the Vale of Mecca, Muḥammad (God bless and give him peace, exalt and ennoble him), and the meed of salutation to his two companions who share his tomb,[39] Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq and Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Fārūq[40] (God be pleased with them). We then retired to our camp, rejoicing at this most signal favour, with hearts cheered at obtaining this most great bounty, praising God Most High for our safe arrival at the sacred abodes of 263 His Apostle and his glorious and sublime sanctuaries,[41] | and praying Him to grant that this be not our last association with them and that we might be of those whose visitation is accepted and whose journey upon the path of God has been ordained.

The mosque and holy Garden of the Apostle of God[42] *(God bless and give him peace).* The venerated mosque is oblong, having

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al-Salām), a double-arched gateway at the southern end of the west wall, facing the tomb of the Prophet. See the plan of the mosque, Fig. 4.

[37] The 'small garden' (*al-rawḍa al-ṣaghīra*), so-called from a tradition of the Prophet 'Between my tomb and my pulpit is a garden of the gardens of Paradise', is described by Burton as 'a space of about eighty feet in length, tawdrily decorated [with flowered carpets, green tiles, etc.] so as to resemble a garden'. Cf. Eldon Rutter, *The Holy Cities of Arabia* (London 1928), II, 192.

[38] This fragment has since disappeared. The story of the palm trunk is related below, p. 173.

[39] For the ceremonies and prayers performed on this occasion by visitors see Burton, *Pilgrimage*, chap. XVI, and Eldon Rutter, *The Holy Cities of Arabia*, II, 191–5.

[40] Abū Bakr, the father of 'Ā'isha, the favourite wife of Muḥammad, was the first Successor or *Khalīfa* of Muḥammad (632–4), and was succeeded by 'Omar b. al-Khaṭṭāb ('Omar I) (634–44), the father of Ḥafṣa, another of Muḥammad's wives. Abū Bakr bears among Sunnī Muslims the epithet of *al-Ṣiddīq* ('the most true') in recognition of his devotion to the Prophet, and 'Omar that of *al-Fārūq* ('he who distinguishes between truth and falsehood'). Both were buried in the tomb chamber of the Prophet, as explained below.

[41] *Mashāhid*, literally tombs or places of visitation (cf. p. 126, n. 212).

[42] This paragraph is taken entirely from the work of Ibn Jubair, but much abridged. In the interval between the two travellers, the original mosque had been burned down, in 1256.

round it on all four sides covered porticos,[43] with an open court in the centre floored with pebbles and sand. Encircling the holy mosque is a street paved with hewn stones. The sanctified Garden[44] (the blessings and peace of God be upon its inmate) is near the south-eastern corner of the noble mosque. Its shape is unusual and difficult to represent. It is wainscotted[45] with marble, exquisitely fashioned and of surpassing quality, [surmounting which are panels] covered with smearings of musk and perfume [that have blackened and cracked] with age.[46] On its southern side | is a nail of 264 silver, opposite to the noble person [of Muḥammad], and at this place the people stand in salutation, facing towards the noble person and with their backs to the qibla. Having made their salutation, they pass to the right, to the person of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (the head of Abū Bakr—God be pleased with him—being towards the feet of the Apostle of God—God bless and give him peace) and then on to 'Omar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (the head of 'Omar being by the shoulders of Abū Bakr—God be pleased with both). To the north of the sanctified Garden—God increase it in sweetness—is a small depression cased with marble, on the southern side of which is the figure of a miḥrāb. It is said that this was the chamber of Fāṭima, the daughter of the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace), and it is said also that it is her grave, but God is All-knowing.[47] In the centre of the noble mosque is a door-leaf laid flat upon the surface of the ground, which closes the entrance to a subterranean passage with steps leading to

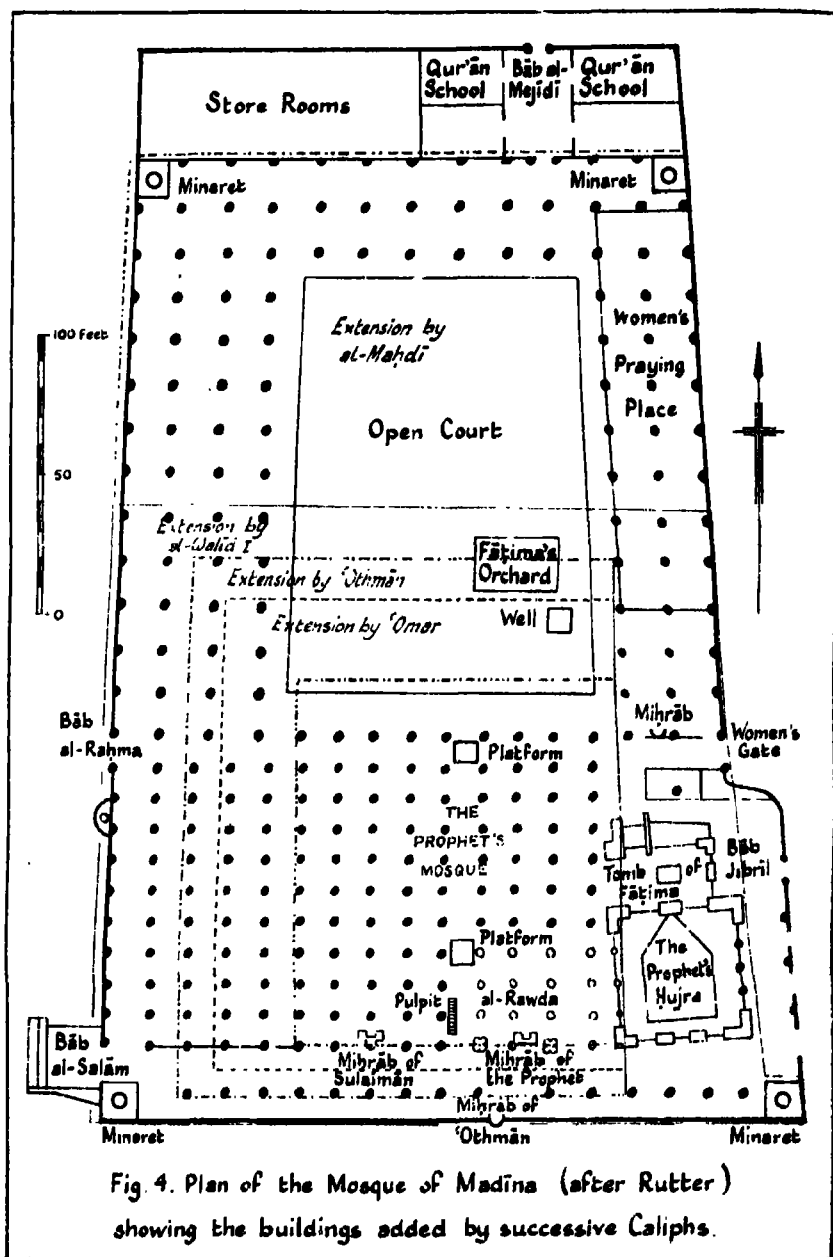
[43] Literally, 'encompassed on all four sides by covered porticoes (or aisles) round about it'. Ibn Jubair enumerates five aisles on the southern side, the same on the northern, three on the eastern, and four on the western.

[44] The *Rawḍa* proper, a railed enclosure in the south-eastern corner, on the site of the Prophet's burial-chamber, now generally called the *Ḥujra* or 'Chamber' (in distinction from the 'small *Rawḍa*' (see p. 164, n. 37), which is now generally called 'the *Rawḍa*'). It has five unequal sides, set askew to the walls of the mosque; the exact measurements are given by Ibn Jubair. In its present form the *Ḥujra* is surrounded by a square outer grille.

[45] Reading, with one MS and Ibn Jubair, *mu'azzara*.

[46] The words inserted in square brackets are from Ibn Jubair.

[47] Early Islamic tradition places Fāṭima's grave in the cemetery of al-Baqī' (see p. 179 below), but the fact of her secret and hurried burial gave room for the belief, particularly favoured by the Shī'ites, that she had been buried in proximity to her father. In modern times, the authenticity of the tomb seems to be accepted without question.

Fig. 4. Plan of the Mosque of Madīna (after Rutter) showing the buildings added by successive Caliphs.

the house of Abū Bakr (God be pleased with him) outside the mosque. This passage was the way by which his daughter 'Ā'isha, the Mother of the Faithful (God be pleased with her), used to go to his house, and it is beyond all doubt | that it is 265 the 'passage' which is mentioned in the Tradition and which the Apostle (God bless and give him peace) commanded to be preserved and all the others to be sealed up. Opposite the house of Abū Bakr (God be pleased with him) is the house of 'Omar and that of his son 'Abdallāh b. 'Omar (God be pleased with them).[48] To the east of the noble mosque is the house of the Imām of al-Madīna, Abū 'Abdallāh Mālik b. Anas (God be pleased with him),[49] and close to the Gate of Peace there is a cistern of running water, to which one goes down by a flight of steps; this cistern is known as the Blue Spring.

The commencement of the building of the noble mosque. The Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) arrived at the Holy City [al-Madīna], the place of emigration, on Monday the thirteenth of the month of First Rabī'[50] when he alighted in the [quarter of the] tribe of 'Amr b. 'Awf[51] and stayed with them for twenty-two nights, or according to others for fourteen or four nights. He then proceeded into al-Madīna and alighted in the quarter of the tribe of al-Najjār at the house of Abū | Ayyūb al-Anṣārī[52] (God be pleased with him), with 266 whom he stayed for seven months, until he had built his own

[48] Prominent in the first generation of Muslims (the 'Companions'), noted for his extremely scrupulous piety, and an authority frequently quoted for Traditions of the Prophet, he died in 693.

[49] A famous jurist, regarded as the founder of the Mālikite school of Sunni Law, born *c.* 715, died in al-Madīna 795. Since both Ibn Jubair and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa were Mālikites, this relic was of particular interest to them.

[50] The year 1 of the Hijra begins on Muḥarram 1 of the year of the Prophet's migration, 15 July 622. His arrival in al-Madīna is usually dated to 8 Rabī I, i.e. 20 September.

[51] A clan of the Aws, which with the Khazraj, constituted the two most important tribes in al-Madīna, subsequently known as al-Anṣār (Muḥammad's 'Helpers'). The quarter of the Aws lay to the south of the modern city, in the suburb of Qubā' (see p. 180 below).

[52] Najjār was a clan of the Khazraj tribe (see the preceding note). Abū Ayyūb was one of the most famous Madīnian 'Companions'; at an advanced age he took part in the Syrian expedition to Constantinople in 672, fell ill and died there, and was buried outside the western wall of Constantinople. After the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the tomb was 'discovered' and is now shown in the mosque of the western suburb of Istanbul called Eyyub after him. His house is still pointed out in al-Madīna, close by the south-east corner of the mosque (Rutter, *Holy Cities*, II. 223).

dwellings and his mosque. The site of the mosque was an enclosure used for drying dates, and belonging to Sahl and Suhail, the two sons of Rāfi' b. Abū 'Omar b. 'Ānid b. Tha'laba b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. al-Najjār, who were orphans under the guardianship of As'ad b. Zurāra (God be pleased with them every one). It is said also that they were under the guardianship of Abū Ayyūb (God be pleased with him). The Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) bought this drying-ground; others deny this and assert that Abū Ayyūb gave them satisfaction for it, and others again say that they gave it to the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace). The Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) then built the mosque, himself working on it with his Companions, and put a wall round it, but gave it neither roofing nor pillars. He made it square in shape, its length being a hundred cubits and its breadth the same, though some say that its breadth was a little less, and fixed the height of the wall at the stature of a man.

Later on, when the heat grew intense, his Companions 267 spoke of | roofing it, so he set up for this purpose a number of columns, formed of trunks of palms, and made its roof of their branches. Then when it rained, the mosque dripped, so the Companions of the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) spoke to him about making it with clay, but he said 'On no account! A booth like the booth of Moses', or 'A shelter like the shelter of Moses, and man's estate is even less enduring than that'. On being asked 'What was the shelter of Moses like?' he replied (God bless and give him peace): 'When he stood up, the roof struck his head.' He made three gateways in the mosque, but the southern gateway was subsequently blocked up when the qibla was changed.[53]

The mosque remained in this condition during the lifetime of the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) and that of Abū Bakr (God be pleased with him). 'Omar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (God be pleased with him) during his government enlarged the mosque of the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace), saying: 'Had I not heard the Apostle of God (God

[53] As is mentioned below, the original direction of prayer was towards Jerusalem, but was turned towards Mecca in the second year after Muḥammad's migration to al-Madīna.

bless | and give him peace) say, "We shall have to enlarge the 268 mosque", I should not have enlarged it.' He took down the wooden columns and set up in their place columns of brick, made its lower courses of stone up to the height of a man, and raised the number of gateways to six, of which there were two on each side except [the southern side, since it was in the direction of] the qibla. With regard to one of these gateways he said, 'It is requisite to leave this one to the women'; and he was never seen in it, down to the time when he went into the presence of God (Mighty and Glorious is He). He said also, 'If we were to enlarge this mosque until it extended to the burial-ground,[54] it would still be the mosque of the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace)'.

'Omar was desirous of throwing into the mosque a place which belonged to al-'Abbās, the paternal uncle of the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace, and be pleased with both Companions), but al-'Abbās would not let him have it. There was a spout in it which used to empty into the mosque, and 'Omar removed it, saying that it was a nuisance to the people. Al-'Abbās disputed his action, and they agreed to invite Ubayy b. Ka'b[55] (God be pleased with both) to arbitrate between them. When they went to his house he kept them waiting for a time before allowing them to enter, and when at length they came into his room he said | 'My slave-girl was washing my head'. 'Omar made to speak, 269 but Ubayy said to him 'Let Abu'l-Faḍl [al-'Abbās] speak, on account of his relationship to the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace)'. Al-'Abbās then said: '[The matter in dispute is] a building plot which the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) assigned to me; I built upon it with his aid and I fixed the spout while my feet were upon no other than the shoulders of the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace). Now 'Omar comes, and tears down the spout, and wishes to include the whole plot in the mosque.' Ubayy said: 'I know something which bears on this subject. I heard the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) say: David

[54] *Al-Jabbāna*, generally understood as the Baqī' al-Gharqad, outside the city to the east (see p. 179 below), but possibly the term, in its original context, implied 'the open desert'.

[55] See p. 140, n. 275.

(upon him be peace) desired to build the holy temple of God [at Jerusalem]. There was in that place a house which belonged to two orphans. He tried to coax them into selling, but they refused; after a while, he endeavoured to persuade them and they sold it. Then they had recourse to fraud; the sale was retracted and he bought it from them [again], but they retracted it in the same way, and David found the price too high. At this point God spoke to him by revelation saying "If thou givest from aught that is thine thou knowest best; 270 but if | thou givest to them from Our provision, give to them until they be satisfied. Verily, the house which is of all houses the most exempt from injustice is a house which belongeth unto Me, and I have made the building thereof unlawful to thee." He said "O my Lord, grant it to Sulaimān" and God granted it to Sulaiman (upon him be peace).' 'Omar said, 'Who will guarantee to me that the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) said this?' Ubayy went out to find certain men of the Anṣār, who confirmed his statement. Thereupon 'Omar (God be pleased with him) said, 'For my own part, had I found none but yourself, I should have accepted your word, but I thought it better to have confirmation'; then to al-'Abbās (God be pleased with him) he said, 'By God you shall put back the spout with your feet upon no other than my shoulders'. Al-'Abbās did so, and then said, 'Now since it has been established as mine, it is a free-will offering to God'. So 'Omar pulled down the building and threw its site into the mosque.

It was enlarged next by 'Othmān (God be pleased with him), who built with vigour and himself laboured on it, and who used to spend the whole day in it. He whitened it, gave 271 solidity to its location by hewn stones, and widened it | on all its sides except the eastern side.[64] He had pillars set up in it, made of stones fixed firmly by pegs of iron and lead, and roofed it with teak. He also constructed a *miḥrāb* in it, though others say that Marwān was the first to build the *miḥrāb*, and others again that it was 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, during the Caliphate of al-Walīd.

The mosque was subsequently enlarged by al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, the work being directed by 'Omar b. 'Abd

[64] Where the huts of the Prophet's wives still stood.

al-'Azīz.[57] He widened and beautified it, made it exceedingly solid, and wrought it with marble and gilded teak. Al-Walīd had sent to the king of the Greeks [saying], 'I desire to build the mosque of our Prophet (God bless and give him peace); do thou then aid me therein', in reply to which he sent him artisans and eighty thousand mithqāls of gold. Al-Walīd also gave orders to throw the rooms of the wives of the Prophet (God bless and give him peace) into the mosque. 'Omar accordingly bought a number of houses, by which three sides | of the mosque were enlarged, but when he came to the southern side, 'Ubaidallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Omar refused to sell the house of Ḥafṣa. There ensued a long argument between them, until in the end 'Omar purchased it upon the conditions that the owners should have whatever remained of the ground and that they might excavate from the rest of it a way into the mosque, and this is the passage-way which is now in the mosque.[58] 'Omar also had four minarets added to the mosque, at its four angles. One of them overlooked the house of Marwān, and when Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik came on pilgrimage he stayed in this house, and as the muezzin looked down upon him at the time of the call to prayer, he gave orders to demolish it.[59] 'Omar also had a *miḥrāb* constructed for the mosque,[60] and it is said that he was the first who introduced the *miḥrāb*. 272

It was enlarged again by al-Mahdī, son of Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr.[61] His father had intended to do this, but it was not in his decree. Al-Ḥasan b. Zaid[62] wrote to Abū Ja'far, inciting

[57] On this reconstruction see J. Sauvaget, *La mosquée omeyyade de Médine* (Paris 1947), and my article 'Arab-Byzantine Relations', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XII (1958). 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, later caliph (see p. 93, n. 97), was governor of al-Madīna from 705 to 712, during the reign of his cousin al-Walīd (705–15).

[58] Identified previously (p. 167) with the passage to the house of Abū Bakr.

[59] This was the south-west minaret. The two northern minarets were rebuilt at the corners of the enlarged edifice constructed by al-Mahdī. Sulaimān was the brother and successor of al-Walīd as caliph.

[60] This has remained ever since the position of the principal *miḥrāb*.

[61] 'Abbāsid caliph of Baghdad, reigned 775–85.

[62] Grandson of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, and governor of al-Madīna from 767 to 772 for the Caliph al Manṣūr, subsequently imprisoned by him, released by al-Mahdī, and died in 784. The story which follows reflects the hostility of the Alids to the memory of the Caliph 'Othmān, who was elected to succeed 'Omar I in preference to 'Alī in 644, and the ambivalent attitude of the 'Abbāsids towards the 'Alids.

273 him to enlarge it on the eastern side and saying that if | it were enlarged eastwards the holy Garden would occupy the centre of the holy mosque. Abū Ja'far suspected him of being inspired solely by the desire to demolish the house of 'Othmān (God be pleased with him), and wrote to him as follows: 'I have realized what your aim is—do not lay a finger on the house of the shaikh 'Othmān.' Abū Ja'far gave orders that the courtyard should be shaded in the hot season by awnings spread out on ropes stretched between balks of timber, which were to be set up in the courtyard, so that they might protect the worshippers from the heat. The length of the mosque in the edifice constructed by al-Walīd was two hundred cubits; al-Mahdī brought it up to three hundred cubits. He made the *maqṣūra*[63] level with the ground—it had previously been at a height of two cubits above it—and inscribed his name on various parts of the mosque.

Subsequently al-Malik al-Manṣūr Qalā'ūn ordered the erection of an edifice for ablutions beside the Gate of Peace. Its building was supervised by the pious amīr 'Alā al-Dīn, known as al-Aqmar,[64] and he constructed it with a court of spacious dimensions and private chambers running round the walls, 274 and had water led into it. | He proposed to erect a similar edifice in Mecca (God Most High ennoble her), but his intention was not fulfilled, and it was built [instead] by his son al-Malik al-Nāṣir between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.[65] We shall speak of it later, if God will.

The Qibla of the mosque of the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) is an absolutely adjusted qibla, because he himself (God bless and give him peace) set it up, or, as others say, Gabriel (upon him be peace) set it up, or else Gabriel was pointing out its direction to him as he set it up. It is related that Gabriel (upon him be peace) made a sign to the hills and they humbled themselves and bowed down until the Ka'ba became visible; hence the Prophet (God bless and give him peace), when he was building [the mosque], could see it with his own eyes. Upon every consideration, therefore, it is an absolutely adjusted qibla. On the first arrival of the

[63] See p. 127, n. 213.
[64] Not identified.
[65] See p. 206 below.

Prophet (God bless and give him peace) at al-Madīna the qibla was towards Jerusalem, and it was switched towards the Ka'ba sixteen or seventeen months later. |

The holy pulpit. It is related in the Tradition that the 275 Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) used to deliver his addresses, leaning on the trunk of a palm-tree in the mosque, and that, when the pulpit was made for him and he removed to it, the palm-trunk whimpered for him as a she-camel whimpers for her calf. It is related further that he (God bless and give him peace) came down to it and placed his arms around it, whereupon it ceased its lamentations, and he said, 'Had I not embraced it, it would have whimpered until the Day of Resurrection'. The traditional narratives are at variance as to who actually constructed the holy pulpit. It is related that Tamīm al-Dārī[66] (God be pleased with him) was the one who made it; others say that a slave belonging to al-'Abbās (God be pleased with him) made it; others again a slave belonging to a woman of the Anṣār, and this version is found in the authentic Tradition. It was constructed of ordinary tamarisk-wood from al-Ghāba,[67] some say of the wood of the oriental tamarisk; it had three steps, and the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) used to sit on the highest step and place his holy feet on the middle one. When Abū | Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (God be pleased with him) was 276 invested with the supreme authority, he sat upon the middle step and placed his feet upon the lowest one, and when 'Omar (God be pleased with him) succeeded, he sat upon the first and placed his feet on the ground. 'Othmān (God be pleased with him) did the same to begin with during his Caliphate, but later on mounted to the third step. When the rule passed to Mu'āwiya (God be pleased with him), he proposed to remove the pulpit to Damascus, whereupon the Muslims raised a loud clamour, a violent wind blew up, the sun was eclipsed and the stars appeared in the daytime, the earth was darkened, so that man collided with man and no path could be distinguished. When Mu'āwiya saw this he let it stay where

[66] A tribesman of the Lakhmid clan of al-Dār, on the Syrian borders, who joined Muḥammad in 631.

[67] *Al-Ghāba*, i.e. 'the thicket, canebrake', was applied at al-Madīna to two thickets some ten or twelve miles to the north of the city, on the road to Syria.

it was and added six steps to the bottom of it,[68] so that it amounted to nine steps in all.

The preacher and the imām in the mosque of the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace). The imām of the illustrious mosque at the time of my entry into al-Madīna was Bahā | 277 al-Dīn ibn Salāma,[69] one of the notable persons of Cairo. The learned, pious and ascetic 'Izz al-Dīn al-Wāsiṭī,[70] the quaesitum of the Shaikhs (God profit us by him), was acting as his deputy. Before him the duties of preacher and also of qāḍī in al-Madīna the Illustrious were carried out by Sirāj al-Dīn 'Omar al-Miṣrī.[71]

Anecdote. It is told that this Sirāj al-Dīn continued to hold the offices of qāḍī and preacher at al-Madīna for about forty years. He wished after this to remove to Cairo, when he saw the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) in a dream three times over, each time forbidding him to leave al-Madīna and announcing to him the imminence of his term. But he would not be checked from his design, left, and died at a place called Suwais [Suez], at a distance of three nights' journey from Cairo, before reaching the latter—God preserve us from an evil end. His deputy was the legist Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥam- 278 mad b. | Farḥūn[72] (God's mercy on him), whose sons are now in al-Madīna the illustrious, [namely] Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh, the professor of the Mālikites and deputy for the controller of the judicial administration, and Abū 'Abdallāh Muhammad. The family belongs originally to the city of Tunis, and enjoys an honourable and respected position there. The offices of preacher and qāḍī at al-Madīna the

[68] I.e. he placed it on an ebony stand with six steps of the same dimensions This mimbar was destroyed in the fire of 1256. The legend related by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa is a common theme of Muslim tradition.

[69] Mūsa b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Salāma al-Mudlijī (1267–1343/4), noted for his calligraphy; he was appointed khaṭīb of al-Madīna in this same year (*Durar*, IV. 375).

[70] Al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Ismā'īl, born at Baghdād 1256, died in 1341 (*Durar*, II, 20).

[71] 'Omar b. Aḥmad b. al-Khiḍr al-Anṣārī, born *c.* 1238, appointed preacher at al-Madīna in 1283, later also qāḍī, died at the end of 1325, a few months after resigning on account of illness. He was the first Sunnī to hold on permanent tenure these two offices, which had been previously monopolized by the Zaidīs (see p. 182, n. 103 below) (*Durar*, III, 149–50).

[72] A Mālikite scholar, of Spanish origin. His son Badr al-Dīn 'Abdallāh died in 1367/8, and the second son Muḥammad in 1345. The precise office of the former is not quite clear (*Durar*, III, 300).

Illustrious were held after that by Jamāl al-Dīn of Asyūṭ, an Egyptian,[73] who was formerly the qāḍī in the castle of Karak.

The servitors and muezzins of the illustrious mosque. The servitors and doorkeepers of this illustrious mosque are Abyssinian and other eunuchs, men of fine appearance, pleasant features, and elegant dress. Their chief is entitled the Shaikh of the Servitors, and ranks equal to the high amīrs. They are in enjoyment of emoluments derived from Egypt and Syria and paid over to them every year. The chief of the muezzins in the illustrious sanctuary is the worthy imām and traditionist, Jamāl al-Dīn | al-Maṭarī,[74] from Maṭarīya, a 279 village near Cairo. His son is the worthy 'Afīf al-Dīn 'Abdallāh. The pious shaikh Abū 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Gharnāṭī, known as al-Tarrās,[75] resident in the sanctuary, is prior of the 'sojourners'—he was the man who castrated himself for fear of temptation.

Anecdote. It is said that Abū 'Abdallāh al-Gharnāṭī was servant to a shaikh called 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-'Ajamī. The shaikh had a good opinion of him and used to trust him with his family and property and leave him in his house when he journeyed abroad. On one occasion when he set out and left Abū 'Abdallāh as usual in his dwelling, Shaikh 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's wife conceived a passion for him and tried to tempt him, but he [rejected her advances] saying 'I fear God, and shall not deceive one who trusts me with his family and goods'. She did not cease tempting him and putting herself in his way until he, in fear lest he should yield to | the tempta- 280 tion, castrated himself and fell in a faint. The people found him in this condition and tended him until he was healed. He became one of the servitors of the holy mosque and a muezzin in it as well, and rose to be head of these two corporations. He has remained in the bonds of life down to the present time.

Some of the resident scholars at al-Madīna the illustrious. One of them was the worthy and pious shaikh Abu'l-'Abbās

[73] Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad. His father 'Izz al-Dīn, d. 1325, was qāḍī of Karak for thirty years (*Durar*, III, 315).

[74] Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Khālid (1272–1340); he was also the *khaṭīb* (*Durar*, III, 315).

[75] Died after 1350. The main point in the following story is confirmed by the Spanish-Arab historian Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*Durar*, IV, 167–8).

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Marzūq,[76] who was addicted to pious exercises, fasting, and praying in the mosque of the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace), patient [under hardship and affliction] and looking to the reward in the life to come. He used often to take up residence in Mecca the venerated. I saw him there in the year twenty-eight, when he was the most assiduous of all in making the 'circuit'. I used to marvel at his persistence in walking round and round [the Ka'ba] in spite of the fierceness of the heat in the circuiting pavement.[77] For this pavement is flagged with black stones, 281 and with the heat of the sun they become like | red-hot plates. I have even seen water-carriers pouring water over it, and no sooner did the water flow beyond the spot on which it was poured than that spot immediately began to glow with heat. Most of the circuiters at this time of day wear sandals, but Abu'l-'Abbās ibn Marzūq used to carry on his circuits with bare feet. I saw him one day engaged in this exercise, and thought I should like to circuit with him. But when I reached the pavement and made to kiss the Black Stone, the heat of the flagstones smote me and I decided to go back after kissing the Stone. It was only with a great effort that I got to the Stone, and as I went back without making the circuit I kept putting my mantle[78] on the ground and walking on it until I reached the colonnade. Living in Mecca at the same time was Abu'l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, son of the legist Abu'l-Ḥasan Sahl b. Mālik al-Azdī, the wazīr of Granada[79] and notable of that city. He used to make the seven-fold 282 circuit of the Ka'ba | seventy times every day, but he would not do it during the hours of midday, owing to the fierce heat, whereas Ibn Marzūq used to circuit in the full heat of midday in addition to what Abu'l-Qāsim did.

Among the 'sojourners' at al-Madīna (God ennoble her) were the pious and devoted blind shaikh Sa'īd of Marrākush, and the shaikh Abū Mahdī 'Īsā b. Ḥazrūn of Miknāsa.

Anecdote. The shaikh Abū Mahdī went into residence at

[76] A noted saint, from Tilimsān, d. 1339/40 (*Durar*, I, 299).

[77] See p. 199 below.

[78] Three MSS read 'my prayer-carpet'.

[79] Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (1264–1329), noted as an astronomer and poet. His father, the vizier, was the *ra'īs* or Mayor of Granada (d. 1271/2) under its first Naṣrid prince, Muḥammad I (*Durar*, IV, 178).

Mecca in the year twenty-eight. He went out [on one occasion] to Mount Ḥirā' with a party of 'sojourners', and when they had climbed the mountain, prayed[80] at the place where the Prophet (God bless and give him peace) used to make his devotions, and descended from it, Abū Mahdī fell behind the others. He found a pathway on the mountain and, thinking it to be | a short cut, went along it. The company, on reaching 283 the foot of the mountain, awaited him, and when he did not come they searched all around them, but found no trace of him. Thinking then that he had gone on ahead of them, they continued on their way to Mecca (God Most High ennoble her). 'Īsā, meanwhile, followed his path, which only led him to another mountain. He lost the way and was tormented with thirst and heat. His shoes were cut to shreds and he kept on tearing strips from his clothes and wrapping them round his feet, until he was too exhausted to walk further, and lay down under the shade of a sweet lote-tree. God put it into the mind of a bedouin upon a camel to go that way, until he came upon 'Īsā, and on learning what had befallen him, set him on the camel and conducted him to Mecca. The shaikh had round his waist a girdle-purse with some gold in it, which he gave to the Arab. He spent about a month unable to stand upon his feet, the skin peeled off them, and a new skin grew on them. A similar adventure happened to a companion of mine, | as I shall relate if God will. 284

Amongst the 'sojourners' at al-Madīna the Illustrious was Abū Muḥammad al-Sarawī, who was a beautiful reciter of the Qur'ān. He went into residence at Mecca in the year mentioned above, and used to read [for public instruction] the 'Book of Healing' of the qāḍī 'Iyāḍ there after the noon prayer,[81] he also officiated as imām at the special night prayers there during Ramaḍān. Another of these 'sojourners' [at al-Madīna] was the legist Abu'l-'Abbās of Fez, professor of the Mālikites there, who married the daughter of the pious shaikh Shihāb al-Dīn of Zarand.

Anecdote. It is told that Abu'l-'Abbās al-Fāsī engaged in

[80] So in three MSS, against the reading 'reached' in the edition.

[81] The 'Book of Healing' (*al-Shifā*) was a highly esteemed biography of Muḥammad, compiled by Iyāḍ b. Mūsā of Ceuta (1083-1149), who became qāḍī of his native town and subsequently of Granada. For the night-prayers in Ramaḍān see p. 239, n. 195.

conversation one day with someone, and the talk led him at length to say a monstrous thing, whereby, through his ignorance of genealogy and failure to guard his tongue, he committed a grievous sin—God absolve him. For he said that al-Ḥusain, son of 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib (upon them be peace) left no posterity. His words were carried to the amīr of al-Madīna, 285 Ṭufail b. Manṣūr b. Jammāz | al-Ḥusainī,[82] who condemned and rightly condemned, what he said, and proposed to execute him. He accepted, however, a plea on his behalf, banished him from al-Madīna, and, it is said, dispatched a man to kill him by stealth, and to the present day no trace of him has been found—God preserve us from stumblings and slipping of the tongue.

The amīr of al-Madīna the illustrious. The amīr of al-Madīna was Kubaish b. Manṣūr b. Jammāz.[83] [In order to acquire his position] he had killed his uncle Muqbil, and they say that he made the ritual of ablution with his blood. Subsequently, in the year twenty-seven, Kubaish went out to the desert during the extreme heats, accompanied by his friends. One day, overcome by the midday sun, they had dispersed beneath the shade of some trees, when suddenly, before they were aware, the sons of Muqbil [appeared] with a troop of their slaves, crying 'Vengeance upon the slayers of Muqbil', 286 and slew Kubaish b. Manṣūr in cold blood, and licked | his blood. The government [of al-Madīna] was assumed after him by his brother Ṭufail b. Manṣūr, the amīr whose expulsion of Abu'l-'Abbās al-Fāsī we have mentioned above.

Some holy sanctuaries outside al-Madīna the illustrious.[84]

[82] Himself a descendant of al-Ḥusain (the printed text has al-Ḥasanī in error for al-Ḥusainī), Ṭufail was appointed amīr of al-Madīna in June 1328, deposed seven years later, seized the city again in 1341/2, was again deposed in 1349, and subsequently attacked the city and plundered the pilgrims, but was captured and died in captivity in Cairo.

[83] Kubaish first acted as deputy for his father Manṣūr, jointly with Muqbil, was driven out by the latter, and attacked the city and killed Muqbil in January 1310. On the murder of Manṣūr in August 1325, Kubaish was appointed amīr, and was himself killed in June 1328 (not 1327, as stated in the text: Zettersteen, 179). The amīrs of al-Madīna at this time were mediatized princes of the Ḥusainid branch of the 'Alid family (see p. 46, n. 140), under the suzerainty of the Sultan of Egypt.

[84] Baqī' al-Gharqad ('the field of bramble') is the cemetery of al-Madīna. This paragraph is for the most part abridged from Ibn Jubair, with some verbal changes.

[The first] of these is Baqī' al-Gharqad, which lies to the east of al-Madīna the Sanctified. One goes out to it by a gate known as Bāb al-Baqī', and the first monument which the visitor meets, on his left as he comes through the gate, is the tomb of Ṣafīya, daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (God be pleased with both), who was the paternal aunt of the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) and mother of al-Zubair b. al-'Awāmm (God be pleased with him).[85] In front of her is the tomb of the Imām of al-Madīna, Abū 'Abdallāh Mālik b. Anas (God be pleased with him),[86] surmounted by a small and unpretentious cupola. In front of him is the tomb of the pure and sanctified offspring of the Holy Prophet, Ibrāhīm, son of the Apostle of God[87] (God bless and give him peace), | surmounted by a white cupola. To the right of this is the grave of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Omar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (God be pleased with them), the man who is known as Abū Shaḥma, and opposite him the tomb of 'Aqīl b. Abū Ṭālib (God be pleased with him) and that of 'Abdallāh son of Ja'far of the Two Wings, son of Abū Ṭālib (God be pleased with them).[88] Opposite them is a plot said to contain the graves of the Mothers of the Faithful (God be pleased with them)[89] and next to this a plot in which is the tomb of al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭālib, the uncle of the Apostle of God (God bless and save him) and that of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib (peace be upon them).[90] The plot is [surmounted by] a cupola soaring in the air and of exquisite construction, to the right as one comes through the Bāb al-Baqī'. The head of al-Ḥasan is in

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[85] One of the principal Meccan 'Companions' of the Prophet, later a wealthy merchant; killed in battle against 'Alī in 656. His son 'Abdallāh maintained an anti-caliphate in Mecca from 683 to 692 (see p. 207, n. 84, and p. 235, n. 179).

[86] See above, p. 167, n. 49.

[87] Ibrahim was born about 628 and died about a year later; his mother was a Coptic slave-girl, Māriya, who had been presented to Muḥammad by the governor of Egypt.

[88] Brother and nephew respectively of 'Alī. When the latter's father, Ja'far, was killed in battle with the Byzantine troops at Mu'ta in 629, the Prophet is said to have declared that he was now flying in Paradise with two ruby wings.

[89] I.e. the wives of the Prophet.

[90] Al-'Abbās (d. 653) was the ancestor of the 'Abbāsid caliphs of Baghdād (750–1258) and Cairo (1261–1517). Al-Ḥasan (d. 669), the elder brother of Ḥusain, was the ancestor of the Sharīfs of Mecca, of Morocco, and of other 'Alid dynasties.

the direction of the feet of al-'Abbās (peace be upon them). Each of their graves is at a height above the ground, of large dimensions, and covered with wooden plaques skilfully joined together and inlaid with brass plates of excellent 288 workmanship. The Baqī' contains also the tombs | of the Emigrants and the Helpers and all the other Companions (God be pleased with them), but their tombs are unknown for the most part. At the far end of the Baqī' is the tomb of the Commander of the Faithful Abū 'Omar 'Othmān b. 'Affān[91] (God be pleased with him), surmounted by a large cupola, and close by him is the tomb of Fāṭima, daughter of Asad b. Hāshim, mother of 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib (God be pleased with her and with her son).

Another of the holy sanctuaries is Qubā', about two miles to the south of al-Madīna, and the road between them lies through groves of palms. At Qubā' is the mosque 'which was founded on piety and the desire to please God',[92] a square-built mosque with a tall white minaret visible from a great distance. In the centre of it is the place where the she-camel of the Prophet (God bless and give him peace) knelt down at the end of his journey,[93] and where now people seek to obtain a blessing by performing the prayer. On the southern side of its court there is a *miḥrāb* on a platform, which marks the 289 first | place in which the Prophet (God bless and give him peace) bowed himself in prayer. South of the mosque is a house, which belonged to Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī (God be pleased with him), and next to it are houses said to have belonged to Abū Bakr, 'Omar, Fāṭima, and 'Ā'isha (God be pleased with them). Facing the mosque is the well of Arīs, the one whose water from being brackish became sweet when the Prophet (God bless and give him peace) spat into it. It was into this same well that the holy ring dropped from [the hand of] 'Othmān (God be pleased with him).[94]

[91] The third caliph, succeeded 'Omar by election in 644, and assassinated by mutinous troops from Egypt in 656. The 'Emigrants' (*Muhājirūn*) were the converts from Mecca and the tribes who 'emigrated' to al-Madīna during the lifetime of the Prophet; the *Anṣār* or 'Helpers' were the inhabitants of al-Madīna (see above, p. 167, n. 51).

[92] Quotation from Qur'ān, ix, 108–9; the identification of this reference with the mosque at Qubā' is based on Tradition.

[93] See above, p. 167, n. 51.

[94] Muḥammad's silver ring was used as a seal by the early caliphs in suc-

Among the places of visitation is the cupola of the Oilstone, where, it is said, oil exuded from a stone for the Prophet (God bless and give him peace).[95] To the north of this is the well of Buḍā'a, facing which is the Devil's Hill, where the Devil cried on the day of Uḥud 'Your Prophet is slain'.[96] On the lip of the trench, which the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) dug at the time of the 'leaguing together of the confederates', is a ruined tower, known as the Tower of the Celibates, | said to have been built by 'Omar for the un- 290 married men of al-Madīna.[97] In front and to the west of this is the well of Rūma, of which the Commander of the Faithful 'Othmān (God be pleased with him) bought the half for twenty thousand [dirhams].[98]

Yet another of the holy sanctuaries is Uḥud,[99] the blessed hill of which the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) said 'Verily Uḥud is a mount which loveth us and which we love'. It lies to the north of al-Madīna the Illustrious, about a league distant from her. In front of the hill are [the tombs of] the sanctified martyrs (God be pleased with them). There is to be seen the tomb of Ḥamza (God be pleased with him), paternal uncle of the Apostle of God (God bless and save him), with the martyrs who fell at Uḥud in the cause of God (God be pleased with them) all around him. Their graves are to the south of Uḥud. On the Uḥud road, [finally], there is a mosque attributed to 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib

cession, and its loss by 'Othmān (see n. 91 above) in 650 was regarded as an ill omen.

[95] On the western edge of the town, according to Ibn Jubair.

[96] See n. 99 below.

[97] In the battle of 'the Trench' (year 5 of the Hijra, April 627), Muḥammad successfully withstood a siege of al-Madīna by the Meccans and their tribal allies. The battle is named from the trench (*khandaq*) which was dug north of the town to prevent the Meccan cavalry from repeating their success at the battle of Uḥud (see n. 99 below).

[98] The well belonged to a Jewish citizen who sold water from it to the Muslims; at the Prophet's instigation 'Othmān paid the large sum mentioned (whether for half or all of the well is disputed).

[99] In the year 3 of the Hijra, March 625, the Meccans (in retaliation for their defeat at Badr—see p. 185, n. 115) attacked Muḥammad and the Muslims of al-Madīna, who took up a position on the lower slope of Mount Uḥud. The Meccan cavalry routed the Muslim archers, and the report spread that the Prophet had been killed, but though wounded he was able to hold his position and the Meccans finally withdrew. For the Prophet's uncle Ḥamza see p. 79, n. 39.

(God be pleased with him), another mosque attributed to Salmān al-Fārisī (God be pleased with him),[100] and the Mosque of Victory, where the Sūra of Victory[101] was revealed 291 to | the Apostle of God (God bless and save him).

Our stay at al-Madīna the Illustrious on this journey lasted four days. We spent each night in the holy mosque, where everyone [engaged in pious exercises]; some, having formed circles in the court and lit a quantity of candles, and with book-rests in their midst [on which were placed volumes] of the Holy Qur'ān, were reciting from it; some were intoning hymns of praise to God; others were occupied in contemplation of the Immaculate Tomb (God increase it in sweetness); while on every side were singers[102] chanting in eulogy of the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace). This is the custom observed by all [visitors to al-Madīna] during those blessed nights, and they also bestow large sums in alms upon the 'sojourners' and the needy.

In my company on this journey from Damascus to al-Madīna the Illustrious was a worthy man from the latter city known as Manṣūr b. Shakl. He made me his guest there, and we met again later on in Aleppo and in Bukhārā. There was 292 also in my company the qāḍī of the Zaidīya,[103] Sharaf | al-Dīn Qāsim b. Sinān, and I was accompanied as well by one of the pious 'poor brethren' belonging to Granāda, whose name was 'Alī b. Ḥujr al-Umawī.[104]

[100] A Persian convert, who is said to have advised Muḥammad to dig the trench at the time of the Meccan siege of al-Madīna (see n. 97 above), and was later revered as a kind of patron saint by the Persian Shī'ites. He was buried at the village which is called by his name, near the great palace of Ctesiphon (Tāq-i Kisrā), south-east of Baghdād.

[101] Sūra xlviii of the Qur'ān, but the occasion of the revelation of this sūra is much disputed.

[102] The French translators render *al-ḥudāh* in its etymological sense of 'camel-drivers', but it was by this time used commonly of singers in general.

[103] The Zaidīs are a Shī'ite sect (of the school of Zaid b. 'Alī, grandson of Ḥusain—see p. 46, n. 140—killed in a rebellion at Kūfa in 740), strongly established in the highlands of al-Yaman since the ninth century, and to which most of the Sharīfs of Mecca and al Madīna openly or secretly adhered. The descendants of Sinān b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Ḥusainī were hereditary Zaidī qāḍīs and khaṭībs at al-Madīna, and continued to exercise the former office concurrently with the Sunnī qāḍīs appointed by the sultan of Egypt (see p. 174, n. 71) (*Durar*, III, 150).

[104] Not identified.

Anecdote. When we reached al-Madīna (God ennoble her and bless her inmate [the Prophet] with most bounteous benediction) this 'Alī b. Ḥujr whom I have mentioned told me that he had that night seen in his sleep one who said to him: 'Listen to me, and learn this by heart from me:

> Rejoice, ye pilgrims to his shrine through whom
> Damnation ye shall 'scape on that dread Day!
> At Ṭaiba ye have reached the Beloved's tomb—
> How blest who there one morn or evening stay!'

This man 'sojourned' for a time at al-Madīna, after making his pilgrimage, and subsequently travelled to the city of Dihlī, the capital of the land of India, in the year forty-three,[105] and placed himself under my protection. I told the story of his dream in the presence of the king of India, who gave orders in consequence to summon him to the court. | He 293 appeared before him accordingly and related the same story to him, which was so admired and approved of by the king that he addressed some kind words to 'Alī in Persian, gave orders to assign a residence to him, and made him a present of three hundred gold tankahs (the weight of the tankah being [equivalent to] two and a half of the dīnārs of the Maghrib), besides giving him a horse with decorated saddle and bridle, and a robe of honour, and fixing a daily stipend for him.

There lived in Dihlī at that time a scholar, an affable man, of a Granāda family but himself born in Bijāya, who was known in India as Jamāl al-Dīn al-Maghribī. This 'Alī b. Ḥujr became a friend of his, promised to give him his daughter in marriage, and put him up in a tiny building outside his own house. He also bought a slave-girl and a slave-boy. 'Alī used to leave his money in the receptacle for his clothes, for he would not trust anyone with it; these two slaves plotted together to take his gold, and take it they did and then fled. When he came to the house he found no trace either of them | or of the gold, and he abstained from food 294 and drink and became seriously ill, out of grief at what had befallen him. I laid his case before the king, who gave orders that the loss should be made good to him, and sent a mes-

[105] 743 A.H. began on 6 June 1342.

senger to tell him of this, but the messenger found him dead (God Most High have mercy on him).

Then came our departure from al-Madīna to go to Mecca (God Most High ennoble her). We halted near the mosque of Dhu'l-Ḥulaifa, where the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) assumed the pilgrim garb.[106] It is at a distance of five miles from al-Madīna, of whose sacred territory it forms the limit, and not far from it is the wādī of al-'Aqīq.[107] Here I divested myself of my tailored clothes, bathed, put on the garment of my consecration, and made a prayer of two bowings. I entered the pilgrim state under obligation to carry out the rites of the Greater Pilgrimage without conjunction [with those of the Lesser Pilgrimage],[108] and [in my enthusiasm] I did not cease crying *Labbaika Allāhumma*[109] 295 through every valley | and hill and rise and descent until I came to the Pass of 'Alī (upon him be peace)[110] where I halted that night. We set out from there and encamped at al-Rawḥā',[111] where there is a well known as Bīr Dhāt al-'Alam, and it is said that 'Alī (upon him be peace) fought with the

[106] The pilgrim garb (*iḥrām* = entry into the state of consecration) consists of two unsewn white wrappers, one worn round the waist and the other over the shoulders. It must be put on with the proper ceremonies of ablution and prayers on entering the sacred territory (*ḥaram*) of Mecca at fixed points on the various caravan roads, called *mīqāt*, but may be put on earlier as a mark of special piety or of penitence. In consequence of the Prophet's example, the *mīqāt* of the inhabitants of al-Madīna was in early times at Dhu'l-Ḥulaifa, but was later on postponed to one of the later stations on the road (see below).

[107] The 'Aqīq stream flows northwards, a few miles to the west of al-Madīna.

[108] In Muslim doctrine, the statement of 'intention' (*nīya*) is an integral and essential part of every religious ceremony. The intending pilgrim thus formally declares his intention of performing either the rites of the annual Greater Pilgrimage or those of the Lesser Pilgrimage (*'umra*, see p. 234), or both. If the Lesser Pilgrimage is excluded, it becomes necessary to go out again to one of the *mīqāts* to assume the pilgrim robes for the *'umra*.

[109] The repetition of this formula is also one of the essential rites of the Pilgrimage. It is of pre-Islamic origin (Muslim tradition attributes it to Abraham), and its original significance is doubtful, but for the Muslim the meaning is 'At Thy service, O God!'

[110] Shi'b al-Ḥajj, described by Richard Burton (*Pilgrimage*, 1st ed., II, 14).

[111] Many of the medieval place-names have since disappeared. According to the Arabic geographer al-Hamdānī, al-Rawḥā' was forty-seven (Arabic) miles from al-Madīna (the Arabic mile measuring 1941 metres against 1609 metres in the English mile).

Jinn in this well.[112] Then we continued our march and encamped at al-Ṣafrā,[113] which is a cultivated and inhabited valley in which there is water, palm gardens, buildings, and a fortified grange, occupied by the Ḥasanī Sharīfs[114] and others. There is a large fort in the place also, and in the neighbourhood are a number of other forts and contiguous villages.

We continued our journey from this place and encamped at Badr, where God aided His Apostle (God bless and give him peace) and performed His holy promise and extirpated the champions of the polytheists.[115] It is a village with a succession of palm groves and a strong fort which can be entered [only] from the bed of a water-course between hills. There is at Badr a gushing spring, the water from which forms a stream. The site of the pit into which the [bodies of the] polytheists, the enemies of God, were cast is now a fruit-garden, | and the place [of burial] of the martyrs (God be pleased with 296 them) is behind it. The Hill of Mercy upon which the angels descended[116] is to the left as one enters this place, in the direction of al-Ṣafrā'. Opposite it is the Hill of Drums, resembling a long-backed sand-dune, and the people of that country assert that they hear a sound there like the noise of drums on the eve of every Friday. The site of the hut in which the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) passed the day of Badr, beseeching his Lord (Mighty and Exalted is He), is at the foot of the Hill of Drums, and the site of the battle is in front of it. By the palm trees of the pit [mentioned above]

[112] This place, now called Bīr 'Alī or Ābār 'Alī (Well or Wells of 'Alī) is the present *mīqāt* for pilgrims from al-Madīna. The name is derived from a popular legend, referred to in the text; see R. Paret, *Die legendäre Maghazi-Literatur* (Tübingen, 1930), 66–7. It was, however, dismissed as a superstitious belief of ignorant bedouins by Ibn Taimīya (see p. 135, n. 251), who calls the valley Wādī al-'Atīq.

[113] Centre of a rich oasis in the Wādi'l-Ṣafrā (cf. Ritter, *Arabien*, II, 144–5).

[114] I.e. descendants of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī (see p. 179, n. 90).

[115] The battle at Badr in year 2 of the Hijra (March 624), in which Muḥammad's Meccan opponents were defeated by a much smaller force of Muslims (about 320), was the first important victory of the nascent Muslim community, and one of the turning-points of Muḥammad's career. Badr is situated some twenty miles south by west of al-Ṣafrā' and the description of the site is taken almost verbally from Ibn Jubair

[116] Reference to Qur'ān, iii, 124: 'When thou wert saying to the Believers "Shall it not suffice you that your Lord will aid you with three thousand angels sent down?" '

is a mosque which is said to mark the place where the she-camel of the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) lay down. From Badr to al-Ṣafrā' is about one *barīd*[117] along a water-course enclosed by hills and in which springs flow perennially and palm groves succeed one another without interruption.

We went on from Badr into the desert known as the Flat of 297 al-Bazwā,[118] which is | a wilderness where the guide wanders from the way and friend has no thought to spare for friend—a three nights' journey. At the end of this march is the vale of Rābigh, in which pools are formed by the rain and hold the water for a long time. From this point, which is just before al-Juḥfa,[119] the pilgrims from Egypt and the Maghrib enter the pilgrim state.[120]

We set out from Rābigh and marched for a space of three nights to Khulaiṣ.[121] We passed through the defile of al-Sawīq, which is situated at a distance of half a day's journey from Khulaiṣ, and a very sandy place. The pilgrims make a point of supping *sawīq*[122] there, and bring it with them from Egypt and Syria for this purpose; they serve it out to people mixed with sugar, and the amīrs fill the watering-tanks with it and serve the people from them. It is related that when the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) passed through this place his Companions had no food with them, so he 298 taking some of its sand gave it to them, | and they supped it [and found it to be] *sawīq*.

We then encamped at the pool of Khulaiṣ, which lies in an open plain and has many palm groves. It possesses a strongly built fort on the top of a hill, and on the plain there is [another] fort in ruins. There is a gushing spring at this place,

[117] Four leagues or twelve Arab miles, but the geographers reckon the distance at twenty miles.

[118] The 'Flat of al-Bazwā' is the broken region between the coast and the ridge of Jabal Ṣubḥ, which runs parallel to the coast and rises to heights of 4500 feet.

[119] Fifty-six miles from al-Rawḥā' and 103 miles from al-Madīna.

[120] I.e. assume the pilgrim garb and obligations. In modern times the *mīqāt* is al-Maḥya'a, a village six miles east of Rābigh.

[121] Khulais seems to have replaced the former station of Qudaid (twenty-four miles from al-Juḥfa and twenty-three from the next station of 'Usfān), and lay seven miles south of it.

[122] Parched barley meal, made into gruel with water or butter.

for whose waters channels have been made in the ground[123] so that they flow to the cultivated lands. The lord of Khulaiṣ is a sharīf of the Ḥasanī line. The bedouins of that neighbourhood hold a great market there, to which they bring sheep, fruits and condiments.

We marched next to 'Usfān,[124] in an open plain between hills, where there are wells of spring water, one of which is attributed to 'Othmān b. 'Affān (God be pleased with him). The laddered way which is likewise attributed to 'Othmān is a half day's journey from Khulaiṣ; it is a narrow pass between two hills, and at one part of it there is a pavement in the shape of steps, and traces of old buildings. There is a well there attributed to 'Alī (peace be upon him), and it is said that | he 299 originated it. At 'Usfān there is an ancient fort and a tower of solid masonry, which has been weakened by decay; there are also many wild dwarf palms there.

We then marched from 'Usfān and encamped in the Bottom of Marr, also called Marr al-Ẓuhrān,[125] a fertile valley with numerous date-palms and a gushing spring of flowing water which serves for the irrigation of that district. From this valley fruit and vegetables are brought to Mecca (God Most High ennoble her). We set out again at night from this blessed valley, with hearts full of gladness at reaching the goal of their hopes, rejoicing in their present condition and future state, and arrived in the morning at the City of Surety, Mecca (God Most High ennoble her).

[123] From Ibn Jubair's account this appears to mean that the water is distributed through subterranean conduits (*qanāts*)

[124] Thirty-six miles from Mecca.

[125] Thirteen miles from Mecca. Ẓuhrān is explained, somewhat uncertainly, as the name of the valley, now called Wādī Fāṭima.

CHAPTER IV

Mecca

WE PRESENTED ourselves forthwith at the Sanctuary of God Most High within her, the place of abode of His Friend Ibrāhīm and scene of mission of His Chosen One, Muḥammad (God bless and give him peace). We entered the illustrious Holy House, wherein 'he who 300 enters is secure',[1] by | the gate of the Banū Shaiba and saw before our eyes the illustrious Ka'ba (God increase it in veneration), like a bride who is displayed upon the bridal-chair of majesty, and walks with proud step in the mantles of beauty, surrounded by the companies which had come to pay homage to the God of Mercy, and being conducted to the Garden of Eternal Bliss. We made around it the [seven-fold] circuit of arrival and kissed the holy Stone; we performed a prayer of two bowings at the Maqām Ibrāhīm and clung to the curtains of the Ka'ba at the Multazam[2] between the door and the Black Stone, where prayer is answered; we drank of the water of Zamzam,[3] which, being drunk of, possesses the qualities which are related in the Tradition handed down from the Prophet (God bless and give him peace); then, having run between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa,[4] we took up our lodging there in a house near the Gate of Ibrāhīm. Praise be to God, Who 301 hath honoured us by visitation to this holy House, | and hath caused us to be numbered amongst those included in the

[1] Qur'ān, iii, 97, the inviolateness of Mecca being a sign of God's protection (Qur'ān, xcv, 3). This paragraph reproduces the substance of the parallel passage in Ibn Jubair. For the 'gate of the Banū Shaiba', the traditional entrance of pilgrims and visitors to the Ka'ba, see p. 202, n. 55.

[2] For the Maqām Ibrāhīm see p. 198 below, and for the Multazam p. 194.

[3] See p. 199 below. The tradition referred to is as follows: 'The water of Zamzam when drunk of has this quality: if thou drink it seeking restoration from illness, God restoreth thee; if thou drink it for thy satiation from hunger, God satisfieth thee; if thou drink it to quench thy thirst, God quencheth it; it is the hollowing of Gabriel and God's gift of water to Ishmael.'

[4] See p. 205 below.

prayer of al-Khalīl (blessing and peace upon him),[5] and hath rejoiced our eyes by the vision of the illustrious Ka'ba and the honourable House, of the holy Stone, of Zamzam and the Ḥaṭīm.[6]

Of the wondrous doings of God Most High is this, that He has created the hearts of men with an instinctive desire to seek these sublime sanctuaries, and yearning to present themselves at their illustrious sites, and has given the love of them such power over men's hearts that none alights in them but they seize his whole heart, nor quits them but with grief at separation from them, sorrowing at his far journey away from them, filled with longing for them, and purposing to repeat his visitation to them. For their blessed soil is the focus of all eyes, and love of it the marrow of all hearts, in virtue of a wise disposition of God which achieves its sublime purpose, and in fulfilment of the prayer of His Friend [Abraham] (upon him be peace). Intensity of yearning brings them near while yet far off, presents them to the eye while yet unseen and makes of little account | to him who seeks them the 302 fatigues which he meets and the distress which he endures. How many a weakling sees death before reaching them, and beholds destruction on their road, yet when God brings him safely to them he welcomes them with joy and gladness, as though he had not tasted bitterness, nor suffered torment and affliction for their sakes! Truly this is a divine thing and a God-given benefit, a proof uncontaminated by ambiguity, unobscured by dubiety, and inaccessible to deception, which is of compelling cogency in the perception of men of understanding, and shatters the rationalism of the intellectuals.[7] He whose soul God Most High hath sustained [by granting him] to alight in those regions and to present himself in that court, upon him hath God bestowed the greatest of all favours and possession of the best of both abodes, that of his present

[5] Qur'ān, ii, 121–2: 'And when Ibrāhīm erected the pedestals of the House with Ismā'īl [saying] "O our Lord, accept [this] from us, Thou verily art the all-hearing, the all-knowing, O our Lord, and make us submissive [*muslims*] to Thee and of our posterity a people submissive [*muslim*] to Thee, and show us our rites of Pilgrimage and turn toward us; verily Thou art the swift to turn, the merciful." '

[6] See p. 199, n. 43 below

[7] The phrase reflects the characteristic North-African (and especially Mālikite) distrust of the over-subtle theologians of the East.

world and the other of the world to come. It is meet for him, therefore, that he should abundantly give thanks for what He has bestowed upon him. May God Most High number us 303 amongst those whose visitation is accepted, | whose merchandise[8] in seeking to perform it brings him gain [in the world to come], whose actions in the cause of God are written [in the Book of Life], and whose burdens of sin are effaced by the acceptance [of the merit earned by Pilgrimage], through His loving kindness and graciousness.

The venerable city of Mecca.[9] Mecca is a large town, compactly built and oblong in shape, situated in the hollow of a valley which is so shut in by hills that the visitor to her sees nothing of her until he actually reaches her. These hills that overlook her are of no exceeding elevation. The 'two rugged hills' of them are the Hill of Abū Qubais, on the southern side of the town, and the Hill of Qu'aiqi'ān on its [western][10] side. To the north of the town is the Red Hill (al-Jabal al-Aḥmar), and on the side of Abū Qubais are Greater Ajyād and Lesser Ajyād, both of which are ravines, and al-Khandama, a mountain; this will be described later.[11] All 304 the places of the pilgrimage ceremonies—Minā, | 'Arafa, and al-Muzdalifa—lie to the east of Mecca (God ennoble her).

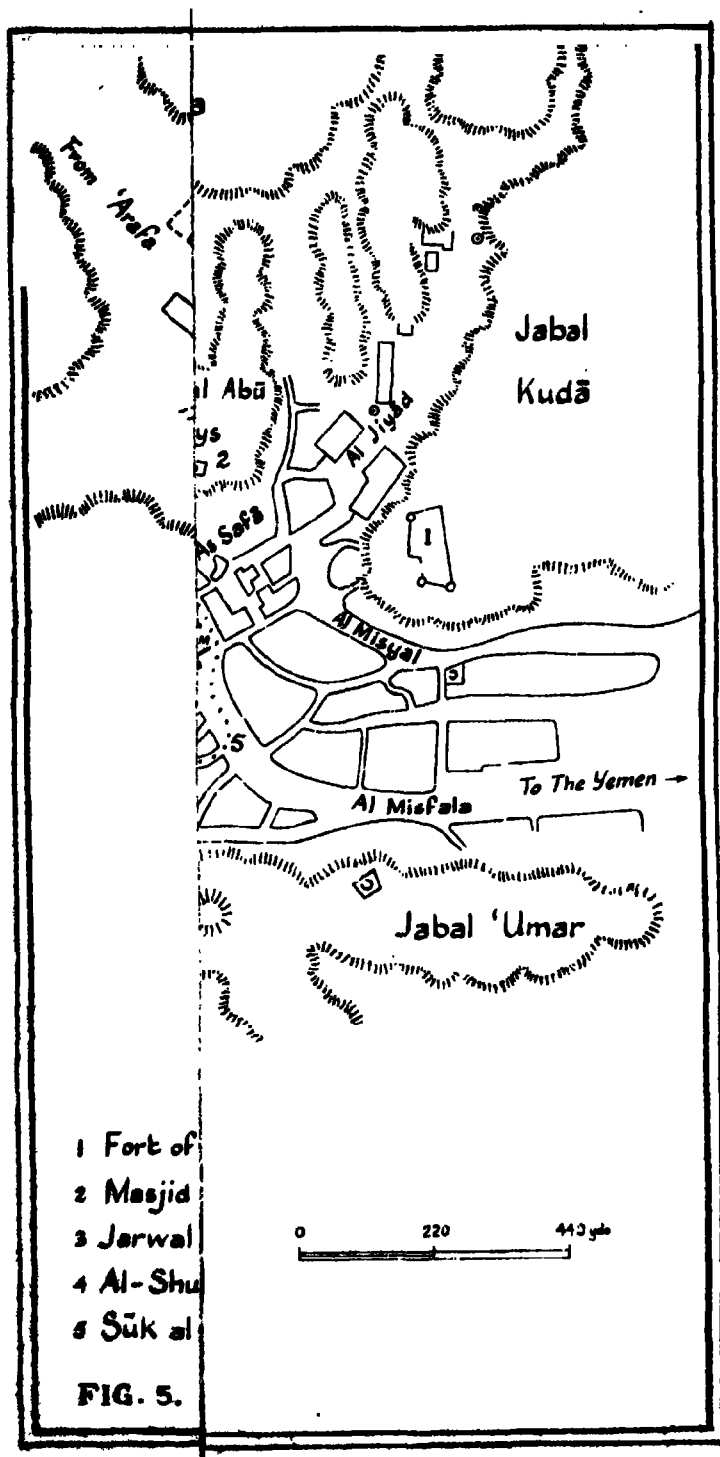
At Mecca the city gates are three in number: Bāb al-Ma'lā, in the highest [i.e. northern] part of the town; Bāb al-Shubaika, in its lowest part, known also as Bāb al-Ẓāhir and Bab al-'Umra—this is on the western side, and through it lies the road to al-Madīna the Illustrious, Cairo, Syria, and Judda; it is from it also that one sets out to al-Tan'īm, as will be

[8] I.e. exchange of wordly profit and advantages for the labours and reward of the Pilgrimage.

[9] The description of Mecca and the ceremonies there, which occupies the next fifty pages or so, is mostly taken from Ibn Jubair, but with considerable rearrangement and some revisions.

[10] Lacuna, completed from Ibn Jubair. As the French editors point out, the statement that Abū Qubais is to the south is an error, corrected on p. 210 below. The two ravines or hill-paths of Jiyād or Ajyād lie between Abū Qubais and the neighbouring hill to the southward, Jabal Kudā. The term 'the two rugged hills' (*al-Akhshabāni*) is derived from a tradition that Gabriel, in reference to the rejection of Muḥammad's mission by the Meccans, said to him 'Shall I close the two rugged hills upon them?' to which the Prophet replied 'Leave me to give warning to my people'.

[11] See p. 211 below.

From 'Arafa
Jabal Kudā
l Abū
ys
2
Al Jiyād
As Safā
1
Al Misyal
5
To The Yemen →
Al Misfala
Jabal 'Umar
1 Fort of
2 Masjid
3 Jarwal
4 Al-Shu
5 Sūk al
0
220
440 yds
FIG. 5.

described later[12]—and Bāb al-Masfal, which is situated on the southern side, and is the gate through which Khālid b. al-Walīd (God be pleased with him) entered on the day of the Conquest.

Mecca (God ennoble her), as God has related in His glorious Book, citing the words of His prophet al-Khalīl, lies 'in a valley bare of corn',[13] but the blessed prayer [of Abraham] has anticipated her needs, so that every delicacy is brought to her, and the fruits of every kind are gathered for her. I myself have eaten there fruits, such as grapes, figs, peaches, and fresh dates, that have not their equal in the world; likewise | the melons which are transported to her have none to compare with them for flavour and sweetness. The flesh-meats in Mecca are fat and exceedingly delicious in taste. All the commodities that are dispersed in different countries find assembly in her. Fruits and vegetables are carried to her from al-Ṭā'if[14] and Wādī Nakhla and the Bottom of Marr,[15] through a bounteous provision of God for the dwellers in His secure sanctuary and the sojourners at His ancient House. 305

The sacred mosque (*God ennoble and sanctify it*). The Sacred Mosque lies in the midst of the city and occupies an extensive area; its length from east to west is more than four hundred cubits (this figure is given by al-Azraqī)[16] and its breadth is approximately the same. The most venerable Ka'ba stands in the centre of it. The aspect of the mosque is [so] exquisite, its outward sight [so] beautiful [that] no tongue could presume to describe its attractions, and no voice of description do justice to the charm of its perfection. | The height of its walls is about twenty cubits, and the roof [of its colonnades] 306

[12] From which the 'Umra (Lesser Pilgrimage) is made, see p. 235 below. Shubaika was the name of the wells on the Tan'īm road.

[13] Qur'ān, xiv, 40: 'O our Lord, verily I have made some of my posterity to dwell in a valley bare of corn, round about Thy sanctified House, O our Lord, that they may steadfastly observe prayer; make therefore hearts of men yearning towards them, and bestow upon them a provision of fruits, that they may give thanks.'

[14] Ṭā'if, in the highlands called al-Sarāt (see p. 237, n. 167 below), lies seventy miles south by east of Mecca, and is noted for its fruit gardens. For a modern plan and description see Rutter, *Holy Cities*, ii, chap. ii.

[15] See p. 187, n. 125.

[16] Author of a *History of Mecca*, died *c.* 860. This was after the enlargement of the sanctuary by the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Mahdī (in 777–83, see p. 193 below) to its present size.

Fig. 6. Plan of the Mosque of Mecca (after Rutter)
The positions and the names of the gates are shewn as at the present day

is supported by tall pillars, arranged in a triple row, of most substantial and beautiful construction. Its three aisles are arranged on a marvellous plan, which makes them appear like a single aisle. The number of marble pillars which it contains is 490,[17] exclusive of the plaster pillars which are in the Dār al-Nadwa[18] annexed to the sanctuary. This building is incorporated in the colonnade running [from west][19] to north, and opposite it are the Maqām [of Ibrāhīm] and the 'Irāqī angle [of the Ka'ba]; its court is contiguous to and entered from the colonnade mentioned. Along the wall of this colonnade is a series of small platforms[20] beneath vaulted arcades; these are occupied by teachers of the Qur'ān, copyists and tailors. On the wall of the parallel colonnade to this there are platforms resembling these; the other colonnades have at the foot of their walls platforms without arcades. By the Bāb Ibrāhīm[21] there is [another] extension from the [south-] western colonnade, in which there are plaster columns. | The 307 Caliph al-Mahdī Muḥammad, son of the Caliph Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr (God be pleased with both), has to his credit a number of noble activities in regard to the extension of the Sacred Mosque and the perfection of its construction, and on the highest part of the wall of the western colonnade is an inscription: 'The Servant of God Muḥammad al-Mahdī, Commander of the Faithful (God justify him), commanded the enlargement of the Sacred Mosque for the Pilgrims to the House of God and the Visitors thereto in the year One Hundred and Sixty-Seven.'[22]

The illustrious and venerable Ka'ba (*God increase it in venera-*

[17] The text of Ibn Jubair has 470 (70 and 90 are frequently confused in Arabic manuscripts). According to tradition these pillars were brought from Ikhmīm in Egypt (see p. 65, n. 203).

[18] The ancient 'Council-House' of the Meccans, which had fallen into ruin, was reconstructed as an annexe to the north-west gallery of the sanctuary by the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Mu'taḍid in 894; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke* (Paris, 1923), 151–2.

[19] Addition from Ibn Jubair. The Ka'ba, and in consequence the whole sanctuary, is oriented in such a way that the angles of both buildings face the cardinal points.

[20] Or stone benches (*maṣṭaba* in the singular).

[21] For the gates of the Sanctuary see pp. 201–2 below.

[22] Reading *wa'ummārihi* in place of *wa'imāratihi* ('and its construction'). Al-Mahdī, the third 'Abbāsid caliph of Baghdad, reigned 775–85: A.H. 167 is A.D. 783–4.

tion and honour). The Ka'ba stands out in the middle of the Mosque—a square-shaped building, whose height is on three sides twenty-eight cubits and on the fourth side, that between the Black Stone and the Yamanite angle, twenty-nine cubits.[23] The breadth of that side of it which extends from the 'Irāqī 308 angle to the Black Stone is fifty-four | spans, and so also is the breadth of the side which runs parallel to it, from the Yamanite angle to the Syrian angle; the breadth of that side of it which extends from the 'Irāqī angle to the Syrian angle, within the Ḥijr,[24] is forty-eight spans, and so also is the breadth of the side parallel to it, [from the Yamanite angle to the Black Stone, the same as that] from the Syrian angle to the 'Irāqī angle; but measured round the outside of the Ḥijr[25] the length of this side is a hundred and twenty spans, and the circuit is always made outside the Ḥijr. It is constructed of hard brown stones cemented together in the most admirable, substantial, and solid manner, so that the days may not change it nor long ages affect it.

The door of the venerable Ka'ba is in the side which is between the Black Stone and the 'Irāqī angle. Between it and the Black Stone is [a space of] ten spans, and that place is the so-called *Multazam* where prayers are answered. The height 309 of the door [sill] above | the ground is eleven and a half spans and the breadth of the wall in which it is set is five spans. The door is covered with plates of silver exquisitely fabricated, and both its jambs and its lintel also are plated with silver.[26] It has two great rings made of silver, through which passes a bolt.

The Holy Door is opened every Friday after the [midday] prayer and it is opened also on the anniversary of the birthday of the Prophet[27] (God bless and give him peace). The cere-

[23] Ibn Jubair adds: 'in order to cant the roof towards the spout'; see p. 196 below. For a modern description of the Ka'ba see Rutter, *Holy Cities*, I, chap. xv.

[24] See p. 199 below.

[25] The text has been corrected from Ibn Jubair and the MSS readings. The Black Stone is at the eastern angle of the Ka'ba, the 'Irāqi, Syrian and Yamanite angles at the north, west, and south angles respectively.

[26] The bar of gold above the lintel, mentioned by Ibn Jubair, seems to have disappeared in the interval.

[27] Traditionally observed on the 12th of the month of First Rabī'. In Ibn

mony which they use in opening it is as follows. They bring up a bench resembling a mimbar, which has steps and wooden legs with four rollers upon which the bench runs, and place it against the wall of the illustrious Ka'ba so that its top step adjoins the holy threshold. When this is done, the chief of the Shaibīs[28] mounts the steps, carrying in his hand the holy key, and accompanied by the doorkeepers. The latter take hold of [and draw aside] the curtain which is hung over the door of the Ka'ba and is known by the name of the Veil [*al-Burqu'*), while their chief opens | the door. When he opens it, he kisses 310 the illustrious threshold, enters the House alone, closes the door, and remains there as long as he requires to make a prayer of two bowings. Then the rest of the Shaibīs enter, close the door also, and make their prayers. After this the door is opened, and the people rush to gain admission. During the preliminaries they stand facing the holy door with downcast eyes and hands outstretched to God Most High, and when it is opened they shout the *Takbīr*[29] and cry 'O God, open unto us the gates of Thy mercy and Thy forgiveness, O most Merciful of the merciful'.

The interior of the illustrious Ka'ba is paved with marble inlaid with arabesques[30] and its walls have a similar facing. It has three tall pillars, exceedingly high and made of teak; between each pillar and the next is a distance of four paces, and they stand [lengthwise] in the middle of the space inside the illustrious Ka'ba, | the central one being opposite to the mid- 311 point of the side between the [Yamanite][31] and Syrian angles. The hangings of the illustrious Ka'ba are of black silk, with inscriptions in white;[32] they gleam upon its walls with light and brilliance and clothe it entirely from the top to the ground.

Jubair's time the door was opened every Tuesday and Friday from sunrise and every day in the month of Rajab.

[28] The guardianship of the Ka'ba (*sidāna*) was confirmed by Muḥammad to the family of Shaiba, of the Quraish clan of 'Abd al-Dār.

[29] *Allāhu akbar*.

[30] The term *mujazza'* apparently means 'white marble inlaid with patterns in marble of different colours'.

[31] The text reads *'Iraqī*, an error due to a misreading of the corresponding passage in Ibn Jubair.

[32] *In Ibn Jubair's time they were mostly green with inscriptions in red or other contrasting colours.*

One of the marvellous 'signs'[33] in connexion with the holy Ka'ba is this: its door is opened at a time when the sanctuary is choked with a multitude of peoples whom none can number save God, who hath created them and sustained them, yet they enter it—the whole body of them—and it is not too narrow to contain them. Another of its marvels is that it is never at any time, whether by night or day, without some worshipper engaged in making the circuit. and none has ever reported that he has seen it at any time without worshippers. Yet another marvel is this: that the pigeons of Mecca, in spite of their number, and the other kinds of birds as well, do not alight upon it, nor do they pass over it in their flight. You can see the pigeons flying over the whole sanctuary, but when 312 they come level with the illustrious Ka'ba | they deflect their course from it to one side, and do not pass over it. It is said that no bird ever alights on it unless it be suffering from some disease, and in that case it either dies on the instant or is healed of its disease—magnified be He who hath distinguished it by nobility and holiness and hath clothed it with respect and veneration.

The blessed waterspout. The spout is at the top of the side which is by the *Ḥijr*. It is of gold, a single span in breadth, and protrudes two cubits. The place underneath the spout is held to be one where prayers made in it will be answered. The site underneath the spout and in the *Ḥijr* is the grave of Ismā'īl (upon him be peace).[34] It is marked by an elongated slab of green marble in the shape of a *miḥrāb* in conjunction with a circular slab of green marble, both about a span and a half in breadth, and both of singular shape and attractive 313 appearance. Beside it, towards the 'Irāqī angle, | is the grave of his mother Hājar (upon her be peace), the mark of which is a circular slab of green marble, a span and a half in breadth. Between the two graves is the space of seven spans.

The Black Stone. As for the Stone, its height above the ground is six spans, so that a tall man has to bend down in

[33] *Āyāt*, the term employed in the Qur'ān to indicate the wondrous events which serve as evidences of the existence and power of God, hence often used in the sense of 'miracles, marvels'.

[34] For the association of Ishmael with Mecca see p. 189, n. 5. He is said to have married the daughter of the chief of Jurhum, the tribe which possessed Mecca before Quraish.

order to kiss it and a small man has to stretch himself up to reach it. It is set in the angle which points to the east, two-thirds of a span broad and a span in length, and is soldered in. No one knows the dimension of that side of it which is enclosed in the angle. It includes four fragments stuck together; the [usual] story is that the Qarmaṭī (God curse him) broke it,[35] but it has been said that the man who broke it was another person, who struck it with a club and smashed it. The people present at the time rushed up to kill him, and a number of Maghribines were killed on account of his action. The edges of the Stone are bound | by a rim of silver, whose 314 whiteness gleams against the black mass of the holy Stone, so that all eyes see in it an overpowering beauty. The kissing of the Stone gives a [sensation of] pleasure[36] which is peculiarly agreeable to the mouth, and as one places his lips against it he would fain not withdraw them from its embrace, by virtue of a special quality reposed in it and a divine favour accorded to it. What more is required [to prove its sublimity] than that the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) said that it is the Right Hand of God upon His earth?[37]—God profit us by our kissing it and touching it, and bring to it all who yearn for it. In the unbroken portion of the Black Stone, near the edge of it which is to the right as one kisses it, is a small and glittering white spot, as if it were a mole on that glorious surface. You can see the pilgrims, as they make their circuits of the Ka'ba, falling one upon the other in the press to kiss it, and it is seldom that one succeeds in doing so except after vigorous jostling. They do just the same when they are entering the Holy House. | It is from beside the Black Stone 315 that the beginning of the circuit is made and it is the first of the angles that the circuiter comes to. When he kisses the Stone, he steps back from it a little way, keeps the illustrious

[35] In A.D. 929, the Qarāmiṭa or 'Carmathians' (a revolutionary Ismā'īlī group who had established themselves in al-Ḥasā) seized Mecca in an expedition commanded by Abū Ṭāhir ('the Qarmaṭī') and carried off the Black Stone, but restored it in 950. The second version appears to be later than the time of Ibn Jubair; see also below, p. 235, n. 179.

[36] In Ibn Jubair, 'smoothness'.

[37] I.e. that kissing or touching it establishes a mystical contact with the Hand of God. This appears to be an Islamic modification of the ancient stone-worship of Arabia, which gave rise to several legends around the Black Stone (see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage*, 42–8).

Ka'ba on his left side, and proceeds on his circuit. He comes next, after the Stone, to the 'Irāqī angle, which faces to the north; then he comes to the Syrian angle, which faces to the west; then to the Yamanite angle which faces to the south; and so returns to the Black Stone, which faces to the East.[38]

The holy Maqām.[39] You should know that between the door of the Ka'ba (God ennoble it) and the 'Irāqī angle there is a place, twelve spans in length and about half as much in breadth, and about two spans high. This was the site of the Station in the time of Ibrāhīm (upon him be peace); subsequently the Prophet (God bless and give him peace) removed it to its [present] position, which is nowadays a place of worship. The original position remained [with the empty socket] something like a watering-tank, and it is into it that the water from the Holy House is poured when it is washed 316 out. This is a blessed site, | for [the privilege of] praying in which there is much scrambling among the pilgrims. The [present] location of the Holy Station is opposite [the wall of the Ka'ba] between the 'Irāqī angle and the Holy Door, and rather nearer to the Door. It is surmounted by a cupola, underneath which is an iron grille placed at such a distance from the Holy Station that a man's finger, when he thrusts his hand through the grille, can just reach the chest [containing the sacred stone] when the grille is locked. Behind the Station is a fenced-off[40] area, which is used as a place in which to pray the two bowings after the circuit of the Ka'ba. [It is related in the canonical Traditions contained] in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*[41] that the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) on entering the mosque [after the capture of Mecca] came to the House and made a sevenfold circuit of it, then came to the Station and after reciting [from the Holy

[38] The sevenfold circuit or circumambulation (*ṭawāf*) of the Ka'ba is a part of both the Greater and Lesser Pilgrimages, but is also observed as a separate rite by all visitors to Mecca and by the Meccans (see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.* part II, chap. IV). The circuits are completed by a prayer of two 'bowings', as noted below.

[39] *Maqām*, literally 'standing-place, station', means here a large stone used for standing on. This stone is regarded as having been used by Abraham in building the Ka'ba. For its history see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.* 102-9.

[40] Reading *maḥjūz*.

[41] I.e. of al-Bukhārī (see above, p. 154, n. 319).

Qur'ān] 'Take the Station of Ibrāhīm for a place of prayer'[42] prayed two bowings behind it. Behind the Station is the position where the imām of the Shāfi'īs stands during prayers, in the enclosure which is at that place. |

The Ḥijr and the circuiting pavement. The circumference of 317 the enclosing wall of the *Ḥijr*[43] measures twenty-nine paces, that is to say ninety-four spans, in the interior of the segment. The wall itself is made of exquisite marble, arabesqued, and artistically put together; it is five and a half spans high, and four and a half spans broad. Within the *Ḥijr* is a broad pavement, flagged with [blocks of] marble arabesqued, [the pieces of which are] arranged in order with inimitable skill and brilliant execution. Between the wall of the illustrious Ka'ba underneath the spout and the opposite part of the wall of the *Ḥijr* is at right angles a space of forty spans. The *Ḥijr* has two entrances, one between [the end of] its [wall] and the 'Irāqī angle [of the Ka'ba], six cubits in breadth—this space being the part of the House which the Quraish left outside when they built the Ka'ba, as is related in the authentic Traditions; the other entrance is at the Syrian angle and is also six cubits in breadth. The distance between the two entrances is forty-eight spans. | The place of circuit is paved 318 with black stones so [laid and] jointed as to form a solid pavement. It extends outward to a breadth of nine paces from the House, except at the side which faces the Holy Station, where it widens out to include it as well. The rest of the Sanctuary, including the colonnades, is covered with white sand. The place of circuit of the women is at the outer edge of the pavement.

The blessed Zamzam.[44] The pavilion of the well of Zamzam stands opposite the Black Stone and at a distance of twenty-

[42] Sūra ii, 125.

[43] The Ḥijr or 'Enclosure' (called also Ḥaṭīm) is a space on the north side of the Ka'ba enclosed by a low semicircular wall, which formed part of the ancient pre-Islamic temple (see below, p. 236, n. 181 and Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.* 35–7).

[44] See p. 183, n. 3. Muslim tradition asserts that the well of Zamzam was opened by the angel Gabriel to quench the thirst of Hagar and Ishmael, and that, after being filled in, it was reopened by Muḥammad's grandfather, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, whose descendants in the house of al-'Abbās preserved the privilege of 'watering' the pilgrims (*siqāya*): see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.* 71–96.

four paces from it. The holy Station is to the right of the pavilion, and from the corner of the latter to it is a distance of ten paces. The interior of the pavilion is paved with white marble, and the mouth of the blessed well is in the centre of it, a little closer to the wall which faces the illustrious Ka'ba. The [breastwork of the] mouth of the well is made of marble, exceedingly skilfully joined and cemented with molten lead; 319 its circumference is forty | spans and its height four and a half spans. The depth of the well is eleven fathoms, and they say that the water in it increases in volume on the eve of each Friday. The door of the pavilion faces east. In the interior of the pavilion there is a circular channel, a span in depth and the same in breadth, and at a height of about five spans from the ground. This is filled with water for ritual ablutions, and round its circumference there is a circular bench, upon which the people sit to make them. Close by the pavilion of Zamzam is the pavilion of the Drinking Water, which is attributed to al-'Abbās (God be pleased with him). Its doorway faces the north. It is used nowadays for keeping Zamzam water in jars which they call [in the singular] *dawraq*, each one of which has a single lug:[45] they are left in this pavilion so that the water may be cooled there and afterwards drunk by the people. In it are stored also the copies of the Holy Qur'ān and other books belonging to the illustrious sanctuary, and it has 320 a small store-room | containing a very broad and wide chest in which is a copy of the Holy Qur'ān in the hand of Zaid b. Thābit[46] (God be pleased with him), transcribed in the year eighteen after the death of the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace). The people of Mecca,[47] when they are afflicted by a famine or other hardship, fetch out this holy volume, open the door of the illustrious Ka'ba, and lay it upon the illustrious threshold together with the Station of Ibrāhīm (upon him be peace). The populace assemble with uncovered

[45] A narrow-necked jar, usually with a loop-shaped handle.

[46] The chief secretary of Muḥammad, who was also chief redactor in the commission appointed by the caliph 'Othmān to draw up the official text of the Qur'ān (see p. 127, n. 214). This edition was, however, based on an earlier collection of materials made by the same Zaid in the caliphate of 'Omar (A.H. 13–23 = A.D. 634–44).

[47] Ibn Jubair says 'I was told by the keeper of the pavilion that the people of Mecca', etc.

heads, praying and humbling themselves, and seeking to move the divine favour by means of the noble Book and gracious Station, and before ever they leave the place God relieves them with His mercy and covers them with His goodness. Adjoining the pavilion of al-'Abbās (God be pleased with him) and in échelon with it is the pavilion known as the pavilion of the Jewish woman.[48] |

321 *The gates of the sacred mosque and the illustrious sanctuaries which surround it.*[49] The Gates of the Sacred Mosque (God Most High ennoble it) are nineteen in number, most of them pierced with several openings. These are: (1) Gate of al-Ṣafā,[50] pierced with five openings; it was formerly known as the Gate of the Banū Makhzūm, and is the largest of the gates of the Mosque. It forms the exit to the *Mas'a* [between al-Ṣafā and Marwa]. The visitor who arrives in Mecca prefers to make his entrance into the Sacred Mosque (God ennoble it) through the Gate of the Banū Shaiba, and to go out, after completing his circuits, through the Gate of al-Ṣafā, making his way between the two columns which the Commander of the Faithful al-Mahdī (God's mercy upon him) set up 'to mark the road taken by the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) to al-Ṣafā'.[51] (2) Gate of Lesser Ajyād, pierced with two openings;[52] (3) Gate of the Tailors, pierced with | two openings;[53] (4) Gate of al-'Abbās (God be pleased with 322 him) pierced with three openings; (5) Gate of the Prophet (God bless and give him peace), pierced with two openings;[54]

[48] I.e. the right corner of the east side of the latter adjoining the left corner of the west side of the pavilion of al-'Abbās, as Ibn Jubair explains; he also adds that the 'pavilion of the Jewish woman' (the origin of the name is not known) was used for storing the lamps and other furnishings of the sanctuary.

[49] On the gates of the sanctuary and the many changes in their number and names see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.* 132 ff, and for a modern description, Rutter, *Holy Cities*, I, chap. XVII.

[50] In the eastern portion of the south-east colonnade. For the *mas'ā* see below, p. 205. The old name recalls the pre-Islamic sanctuary, when each of the Meccan clans had its own entrance.

[51] The phrase in inverted commas is taken from the inscription of al-Mahdī (see p. 193, n. 22 above), as quoted by Ibn Jubair.

[52] In the south-east colonnade, to the east of Bāb al-Ṣafā, called after the ravine mentioned above, p. 190, now called 'Mule Gate'.

[53] Also in the south-east colonnade, probably that now called Bāb Bāzān.

[54] Both in the middle part of the north-east colonnade. The latter is also called 'Gate of the Silk-Merchants'.

(6) Gate of the Banū Shaiba,[55] at the northern angle of the east wall [of the Mosque], facing the door of the illustrious Ka'ba [obliquely] in a left-hand direction, and pierced with three openings. This was the Gate of the Banū 'Abd Shams, and by it the Caliphs used to enter;[56] a small gate opposite the Gate of the Banū Shaiba, unnamed, or, according to another account, named Gate of the Convent, because it gives entrance to the Convent of the Lote-tree;[57] (8, 9, 10) Gate of the Council, a name given to three [different] gates, two which are next one another, and the third in the western angle of the Council House. The Council House itself has become a mosque opening into and annexed to the main sanctuary, in face of the Spout;[58] (11) a small gate leading to 323 the Dār | al-'Ajala, of recent construction;[59] (12) Gate of the Lote-tree, a single opening;[60] (13) Gate of the 'Umra,[61] a single opening, and one of the most beautiful gateways in the Sanctuary; (14) Gate of Ibrāhīm, a single opening;[62] the authorities are at variance as to the person after whom it is named, for some of them attribute it to Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl (upon him be peace), but the truth is that it is called after Ibrāhīm al-Khūzī, a man of the Persians; (15) Gate of al-Ḥazūra,[63] pierced with two openings; (16) Gate of Greater Ajyād, pierced with two openings;[64] (17, 18) a gate called also by the name of Ajyād, pierced with two openings, and a third gate called by the same name, pierced with two openings and adjacent to the Gate of al-Ṣafā. There are some who give to

[55] Usually called 'Gate of Peace' (*Bāb al-Salām*), the name 'Gate of the Banū Shaiba' being given to an arcade adjacent to the well of Zamzam.

[56] 'Abd Shams was the clan to which the Umayyad caliphs belonged.

[57] Probably that now called Bāb al-Madrasa.

[58] See above, p. 193, n. 18.

[59] The Dār al-'Ajala was a building constructed on the north side of the sanctuary in the first century of the Hijra: the origin of the name is unknown (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage*, 149). The gate was 'of recent construction' (or rather reopened) in Ibn Jubair's time.

[60] *Sidra*, 'lote-tree', may be a copyist's error for *Sadda*, 'closure', mentioned in other sources (see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.* 148), also called Bāb al-'Atīq, 'The Ancient Gate', in the north-west colonnade.

[61] At the western angle, so called because pilgrims at the Lesser Pilgrimage (*'umra*) went out by it to Tan'īm (see p. 235 below).

[62] In the centre of the south-west colonnade.

[63] Also in the south-west colonnade, to the north of the Bāb Ibrāhīm.

[64] As appears from the next paragraph, this is the gate at the southern angle, usually called 'Gate of Farewell' (Bāb al-Widā').

the two [latter] of these four gates called after Ajyād the name of the [Gates of the] Flour-merchants.[65]

The minarets of the Sacred Mosque are five in number:[66] one | over the angle of Abū Qubais, near the Gate of al-Ṣafā; 324 the second over the angle of the Gate of the Banū Shaiba; the third over the Gate of the Council-House; the fourth over the angle of the Gate of the Lote-tree; and the fifth over the angle of Ajyād.

Close to the Gate of the 'Umra is a college which was founded by the exalted Sultan Yūsuf b. Rasūl, king of the Yaman, known as al-Malik al-Muẓaffar,[67] from whom the *muẓaffarī* dirhams in the Yaman take their name. He used also to furnish the curtain of the Ka'ba until al-Malik al-Manṣūr Qalā'ūn deprived him of the privilege.[68]

Outside the Gate of Ibrāhīm there is a large hospice, within which is the house of the imām of the Mālikites, the pious Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, known as Khalīl.[69] Over the Gate of Ibrāhīm there is a vast dome of exceeding height, in the interior of which have been executed marvellous designs in plasterwork that baffle description. In face of this gate, to | the right as one enters it, used to sit the 325 shaikh and devotee Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad of Āqshahr.[70] Outside the Gate of Ibrāhīm is a well which is

[65] Two gates in the western part of the south-east colonnade, to which various names are given (see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.* 141–2). The nineteenth gate, the Gate of 'Alī, with three openings, to the north of the eastern angle, has been omitted in error.

[66] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa departs in this paragraph from Ibn Jubair, who describes seven minarets. The five mentioned here are at the eastern and northern angles, in the middle of the north-west colonnade, and at the western and southern angles respectively. The minaret at the western angle is over the Gate of the 'Umra (no. 13), not that of the 'Lote-Tree'.

[67] Yūsuf b. 'Omar, reigned 1249–95, son and successor of the founder of the Rasūlid dynasty, which controlled south-west Arabia as far north as Mecca until the mid-fifteenth century. The name of the dynasty was derived from the office held by the grandfather of the founder as ambassador (*rasūl*) of the 'Abbāsid caliph in Syria and Egypt.

[68] The privilege of furnishing the curtain (*kiswa*, i.e. 'garment') with which the Ka'ba is draped (see p. 247 below) was regarded as a symbol of political suzerainty over Mecca, and therefore much disputed: see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 'Le voile de la Ka'ba', in *Studia Islamica*, II (Paris, 1954), 5–21.

[69] The biography of this highly reputed scholar is accidentally omitted from the *Durar*; see Aḥmad Bābā, *Nail al Dībāj* (Cairo 1329), 115.

[70] Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Amīn (1267–1331 or later), author of a book

called by the name of the same Ibrāhīm. By the gate also is the house of the pious shaikh Dāniyāl the Persian, by whose hands the alms sent from al-'Irāq used to come in the days of the Sultan Abū Sa'īd.[71] In proximity to the same gate is the convent of al-Muwaffaq, one of the finest of its kind, in which I stayed during my residence in Mecca the Great. Living in it at the same time was the pious shaikh Abū 'Abdallāh al-Zuwāwī, from the Maghrib, and the pious shaikh called 'the Flier', Sa'āda al-Jawwānī, also stayed there.[72] The latter went into his room one day after the mid-afternoon prayer, and was found in the attitude of prostration, with his face to the illustrious Ka'ba, dead, without having suffered any illness (God be pleased with him). The pious shaikh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shāmī lived in this convent for about forty years, and another who lived there was the pious 326 shaikh | Shu'aib al-Maghribī, one of the most notable devotees.[73] I visited him one day, and I could see nothing in his room but a reed-mat. I expressed my astonishment at this to him but he said to me 'Keep secret what you have seen about me'.

Round the illustrious Sanctuary there are many houses with belvederes and roof-terraces from which access is given to the roof of the Sanctuary, and whose occupants are ever in contemplation of the illustrious House. There are also houses with doors leading into the Sanctuary, amongst them the house of Zubaida, wife of al-Rashīd, the Commander of the Faithful, the house [known as] al-'Ajala, the house of al-Sharābī, etc.[74]

Amongst the holy shrines in the vicinity of the Sacred Mosque is the Dome of the Revelation, which is in the house

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of travels (*Durar*, III, 309). From the considerable number of scholars and devotees from Āqshahr (in Central Anatolia) mentioned in this century, it seems that it was a notable centre of Islamic life at this time.

[71] The last of the line of Mongol Īlkhāns of Persia and 'Irāq, reigned 1316–35. His history is related by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in vol. II.

[72] The former is called 'Abdallāh b. Mūsā b. 'Umar (d. 1334) by Ibn Ḥajar (*Durar*, II, 307).

[73] Shu'aib b. Mūsā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Muḥammadī, called Abū Madyan, a noted ṣūfī (*Durar*, II, 194)

[74] The house of Zubaida was adjacent to the Gate of the Tailors, but collapsed in 684, and was eventually replaced by a convent. For the Dār al-'Ajala see p. 202, n. 59. The Dār al-Sharābī has not been identified.

of Khadīja, the Mother of the Faithful[75] (God be pleased with her), close to the Gate of the Prophet (God bless and give him peace). In the same house there is a small domed chamber, where Fāṭima (peace be upon her) was born.[76] Not far from this is the house of Abū Bakr | al-Ṣiddīq (God be 327 pleased with him). Facing it is a blessed wall, containing a blessed stone whose end protrudes from the face of the wall and which is kissed by visitors. It is said that this stone used to greet the Prophet (God bless and give him peace), and the story is told that the Prophet (God bless and give him peace) came one day to the house of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq when he was not at home, and that when the Prophet (God bless and give him peace) called him this stone spoke and said 'O Apostle of God, he is not at home'.

Al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. From the Gate of al-Ṣafā, which is one of the gates of the Sacred Mosque, to al-Ṣafā itself is seventy-six paces; the breadth of al-Ṣafā is seventeen paces, and it has fourteen steps, the highest of which is a sort of platform. From al-Ṣafā to al-Marwa is four hundred and ninety-three paces, made up as follows: from al-Ṣafā to the 'Green Needle', ninety-three paces; from | the 'Green Needle' 328 to the 'pair of Green Needles', seventy-five paces; and from the 'pair of Green Needles' to al-Marwa, three hundred and twenty-five paces. Al-Marwa has five steps and a single wide arch; the breadth of al-Marwa is [also] seventeen paces. The 'Green Needle' is a column [painted] green, set up against the corner of the minaret which is over the eastern angle of the sanctuary, on the left hand of the pilgrim as he runs to al-Marwa. The 'pair of Green Needles' are two green columns in line with the Gate of 'Alī, one of the gates of the Sanctuary; one of them is in the wall of the Sanctuary, on the left as one issues from the gate, and the other stands opposite it. It is between the 'Green Needle' and the 'pair of Green Needles' that the pilgrim does the 'trotting', both going and coming.[77]

[75] The first wife of Muḥammad, died about 619, before the Prophet's *hijra* to al-Madīna; cf. p. 159 above.

[76] A slip by Ibn Jubair is silently corrected here; he states that 'in it also [Fāṭima] gave birth to al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain', who were in fact born in al-Madīna.

[77] The *Sa'y* (trotting or running), seven times in all, between the two points indicated south of the sanctuary is one of the rites of pilgrimage per-

Between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa there is a torrent-bed, occupied by an immense bazaar, in which are sold grain of various kinds, meat, dates, clarified butter, and other varieties of fruits. The pilgrims who are engaged in the course 329 between al-Ṣafā | and al-Marwa can scarcely get clear of it owing to the pressure of the crowds round the booths of the vendors. There is at Mecca no organized market beyond this, except the cloth-merchants and druggists at the Gate of the Banū Shaiba.

Between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa is the House of al-'Abbās (God be pleased with him) now used as a convent, where those who come for a period of residence in Mecca are lodged. Al-Malik al Nāṣir (God's mercy on him) restored it, and built also a hall of ablutions between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa in the year twenty-eight. He furnished the latter with two doors, one opening on the bazaar mentioned above, the other on the druggists' market. In its upper story there is a series of separate apartments, where its attendants live. The building of this hall was superintended by the amīr 'Alā al-Dīn ibn Hilāl.[78] To the right of al-Marwa is the house of the amīr of Mecca, Saif al-Dīn 'Uṭaifa b. Abī Numayy, of whom we shall speak later.[79] |

330 *The blessed cemetery*. The Cemetery of Mecca lies outside the Ma'lā gate [of the city], and its locality is known also as Ḥajūn.[80] This is the place referred to by al-Ḥārith b. Muḍāḍ al-Jurhumī[81] in the following verses:

formed immediately after the circuit of the Ka'ba, and said to be in commemoration of Hagar's agitated search for a well, but probably continuing an ancient pre-Islamic rite (cf. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage*, 225–34). The site of the *Sa'y* was removed to its medieval and modern emplacement when the sanctuary was enlarged in 780, and now runs past the eastern angle of the Ḥaram.

[78] 'Alī b. Hilāl al-Dawla, officer in charge of buildings in Egypt, was deputed by al-Malik al-Nāṣir in 1328 to carry out repairs and improvements at Mecca, and for this ablution hall constructed an aqueduct from 'Ain Thaqaba, between Jabal Ḥirā and Thabīr (see p. 211). He died in his fief at Shaizar (near Ḥamāh in Syria) in 1338. (*Durar*, III, 136; Zetterstéen, 190.)

[79] See p. 214 below.

[80] Al-Ḥajūn ('the twisting') is the name given to the small valley at the upper (northern) end of the town, running westwards from the main valley. The cemetery, called al-Ma'lā ('the upper end') is disposed on both sides of al-Ḥajūn.

[81] These verses (together with three more lamenting the destruction of the ancient Meccan tribe of Jurhum—see p. 196, n. 34 above) are also attri-

From Ḥajūn to Ṣafā all is silent, as though
Ne'er its evenings were livened by tale and debate.
Ay, but we were its folk until doomed to o'erthrow
By the shifts of the nights and the stumblings of fate.

In this cemetery is the burial place of a vast throng of the Companions and their immediate successors, of the learned, the pious, and the saintly, but their tombs have become effaced, and the knowledge of them has been lost among the inhabitants of Mecca, so that none but a few of them are now known. Amongst the known sites is the grave of the Mother of the Faithful and counsellor of the Chief of the Apostles, Khadīja daughter | of Khuwailid,[82] mother of every one of the 331 children of the Prophet (God bless and give him peace) save only Ibrāhīm, and grandmother of his two noble grandsons [al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain]—the blessings and peace of God be upon the Prophet (God bless and give him peace) and upon them all. Near by it is the tomb of the Caliph, the Commander of the Faithful, Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās[83]—God be pleased with them all. In the cemetery also is the place where [the body of] 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubair (God be pleased with him and with his father) was crucified.[84] On this site there was formerly a building, which was destroyed by the men of al-Ṭā'if out of resentment at the curses which were hurled at their fellow citizen, al-Ḥajjāj the destroyer.[85] On the right-hand side as one faces the cemetery is a ruined mosque, said

buted to his father Muḍāḍ b. 'Amr al Jurhumi, traditionally represented as the chief poet of the tribe (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, XIII, 107–12; Yāqūt, s.v. al Ḥajūn).

[82] See p. 205, n. 75.

[83] The second 'Abbasid caliph of Baghdād, reigned 754–75, died while on pilgrimage in the vicinity of Mecca.

[84] See p. 179, n. 35. On the recapture of Mecca by the Umayyad troops under the command of al-Ḥajjāj (see the following note) in 692, after a battle in which 'Abdallāh was killed, his body was for a time gibbeted on the spot where he had previously exposed his own brother's body in 681.

[85] Al-Ḥajjāj, subsequently viceroy of 'Irāq and the East (d. 714), was of the tribe of Thaqīf, the inhabitants of Ṭā'if (see p. 191, n. 14). His name became a symbol, in Shi'ite and anti-Umayyad circles, for violence and oppression, as in the tradition here referred to: 'There shall come forth from Thaqīf two liars, the latter of whom [i.e. al-Hajjāj] shall be more evil than the former; he is the destroyer'. The tradition is quoted, however (e.g. *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, VI, 351, 352), solely on the authority of Asmā, daughter of Abū Bakr and mother of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubair.

to be the mosque in which the jinn gave their allegiance to the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace).[86] By this cemetery runs the road which is taken by those ascending to 'Arafāt and those going to al-Ṭā'if and to al-'Irāq. |

332 *Some of the sanctuaries outside Mecca.* These include: Al-Ḥajūn, which we have already mentioned; it is also stated that al-Ḥajūn is the hill which overlooks the cemetery.[87] —Al-Muḥaṣṣab, which is the same as al-Abṭaḥ,[88] adjoining the cemetery mentioned above; in this place is the declivity of the Banū Kināna, where the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) alighted.[89]—Dhū Ṭuwā, a valley descending to the tombs of the Emigrants, which are at al-Ḥasḥāṣ, below the track of Kadā'; through it runs the road out to the pillars set up to mark the boundary between the profane and the sacred territory.[90] 'Abdallāh b. 'Omar (God be pleased with him) used always, on coming to Mecca (God Most High ennoble her), to pass the night in Dhū Ṭuwā, and after making a complete ablution there go on to Mecca in the morning; and it is stated that the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) did the same.—The track of Kudā[91] in the upper part of Mecca; it was by it that the Apostle of God (God bless and 333 give him peace) entered into Mecca | on the Farewell Pilgrimage.—The track of Kadā', also called the White Track, at the lower end of Mecca; by it the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) departed [from Mecca] in the year of the Farewell [Pilgrimage]. It lies between two hills and in its narrowest part there is a heap of stones set upon the road;

[86] Allusion to an episode referred to in the Qur'ān, lxxii, 1-2: 'Say, it hath been revealed to me that a company of the jinn hearkened and said "Verily we have heard a marvellous Qur'an, guiding to righteousness, wherefore we believe in it and we will not associate any being with our Lord".'

[87] See p. 206, n. 80. The hill is properly called Jabal Kadā' (see below, n. 91).

[88] The northward continuation of the main valley (the Baṭḥa) of Mecca.

[89] On Muḥammad's occupation of Mecca in January 630 the Muslim forces advancing from Dhū Ṭuwā entered the city at four points.

[90] I.e. the *mīqāt* at Tan'īm (see below, n. 94) Ibn Jubair and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa apparently apply the name Dhū Ṭuwā to the track running west from the Bāb al-'Umra (see p. 202, n. 61) through the suburb now called Jarwal.

[91] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has here confused Jabal Kadā', in the northern part of the town, with Jabal Kudā, to the south-east and opposite the southern angle of the sanctuary, although he correctly placed the 'track of Kadā' ' to the north of Dhū Ṭuwā just previously, and the two names should be interchanged. See the plan of Mecca, Fig. 5.

everyone who passes by throws a stone on it, for it is said that this is the grave of Abū Lahab and his wife, the gatherer of firewood.[92] Between this track and the town of Mecca there is a flat plain, where the pilgrim caravan encamps on its return from Minā. In the vicinity of this place, about a mile out of Mecca (God ennoble her), is a mosque, in line with which there is a stone placed upon the road, like a platform, and surmounted by another stone; there was once some engraving upon the latter, but its lines have been effaced. It is said that the Prophet (God bless and give him peace) sat in this place to rest himself on coming back | from his 'Umra, so 334 people seek to gain a blessing by kissing it, and lean up against it [that their bodies may gain the blessing of contact with it].[93] —Al-Tan'īm, a league distant from Mecca,[94] which the inhabitants of Mecca take as the starting-point for their 'Umra, it being the nearest profane territory to the Sanctuary. It was from this place that the Mother of the Faithful, 'Ā'isha (God be pleased with her) began her 'Umra, when the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) sent her, on the occasion of his Farewell Pilgrimage, with her brother 'Abd al-Raḥmān (God be pleased with him) and gave him instructions to guide her through the ceremonies of the 'Umra starting from al-Tan'īm. Three mosques have been built on the road there, all of which are called after 'Ā'isha (God be pleased with her). The Tan'īm road is a wide track, and the people make a point of sweeping it every day, out of desire for the [heavenly] recompense and reward, for a number of those who undertake the 'Umra walk along it barefooted. On this road also are some sweet wells, which are called by the name of al-Shubaika.[95] —Al-Ẓāhir, which is about two miles from Mecca, on the road of al-Tan'īm. It is a place lying on either side of

[92] On the real 'track of Kadā'', about a mile to the west of the town. Abū Lahab is the nickname of Muḥammad's uncle 'Abd al-'Uzzā, one of the Prophet's most determined opponents; he is cursed in Sūra cxi of the Qur'ān, together with his wife, who is called 'the gatherer of firewood'—a phrase whose precise contemporary significance is disputed.

[93] The words in square brackets are from Ibn Jubair. In the following paragraph Ibn Baṭṭūṭa greatly expands and revises Ibn Jubair's text.

[94] Five miles from Mecca, on the Madīna road. It is the *mīqāt* (see p. 184, n. 106) for the Lesser Pilgrimage.

[95] Diminutive of *shabaka*, meaning a shallow communicating well or pit of rain-water.

335 the road, in which can be seen | the remains of houses, gardens and bazaars. On one side of the road is an oblong platform, upon which are set rows of drinking mugs and vessels for ablutions. The intendant of the place keeps them filled from the wells of al-Ẓāhir, which are exceedingly deep, and he has[96] several of the poor brethren who are in residence at Mecca and other charitable persons helping him in this work, because of the support and solace which it gives to those who are performing the 'Umra [by supplying them with water] for washing, drinking, and making ritual ablutions. [The above-mentioned valley of] Dhū Ṭuwā leads to al-Ẓāhir.

The mountains around Mecca. [The first] of these is Jabal Abū Qubais, on the south-eastern flank of Mecca (God protect her), one of 'the two rugged hills',[97] and the nearest of the hills to Mecca (God ennoble her). It faces the angle of the Black Stone. On top of it is a mosque[98] and the ruins of a convent and other buildings, and al-Malik al-Ẓāhir[99] (God's 336 mercy upon him) | had intended to restore the latter. It overlooks the illustrious sanctuary and the whole town, and from it one may obtain a view of the beauty of Mecca (God ennoble her), of the elegant symmetry and noble proportions of the Sanctuary, and of the venerable Ka'ba. It is stated that Jabal Abū Qubais was the first hill created by God Most High, and on it was deposited[100] the [Black] Stone during the flood. The Quraish used to call it 'the trustworthy' (*al-Amīn*), because it gave up the Stone which had been deposited on it to al-Khalīl Ibrāhīm (upon him be peace). It is said also that it contains the grave of Adam (upon him be peace). On Jabal Abū Qubais also is the spot where the Prophet (God bless and give him peace) stood when the moon was split for him.[101]

[96] Reading *lil-khādimi.*

[97] *Al-Akhshabāni* (see p. 190, n. 10), the two low hills, both about 600 feet high, which hem in the valley of Mecca from the south-east and the west (the latter being strictly Jabal Hindī, a spur of Jabal Qu'aiqi'ān).

[98] Now called the mosque of Bilāl, the Prophet's muezzin (see p. 139, n 269).

[99] The Mamlūk sultan Baibars I (see p. 137, n. 257).

[100] Literally 'was confided to its care'. According to Muslim tradition the Black Stone (then white) was Adam's seat.

[101] A reference to the ancient Muslim tradition that Muḥammad, when challenged by Quraish to perform a miracle, showed them the moon split in half (probably derived from a popular interpretation of Qur'ān liv, 1: 'The Hour cometh nigh, and the moon shall be split asunder').

Among the other hills round Mecca are Qu'aiqi'ān, which is one of 'the two rugged hills';[102] the Red Mount (*al-Jabal al-Aḥmar*), on the northern side of Mecca (God ennoble her);[103] al-Khandama, which rises above the two ravines known as Ajyād the Greater | and Ajyād the Lesser;[104] and the Hill of 337 the Birds (Jabal al-Ṭair), a group of four hills on either side of the road to al-Tan'īm, said to be the hills upon which al-Khalīl (upon him be peace) placed the dismembered parts of the birds and then called them, as God has explicitly related in His Exalted Book;[105] they are marked by pillars made of stones.

Another of these hills is Jabal Ḥirā, to the north[106] of Mecca (God ennoble her) and about a league distant from it. It dominates Minā,[107] soaring into the air and high-summited. The Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) used frequently to devote himself to religious exercises in it before his prophetic Call, and it was here that the Truth came to him from his Lord and the divine Revelations began. This too is the mountain which quaked beneath the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace), and to which the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) said 'Be still, for on thee are none other than a Prophet and a Veracious one and a Martyr'. There is some difference as to the persons who actually were with him on that day, and one tradition relates that the Ten were with him.[108] Another tradition relates | that 338 Jabal Thabīr[109] also quaked beneath him.

[102] See above, n. 97.

[103] The spur of Jabal Qu'aiqi'ān now called Jabal Hindī; for the various names given to it see al-Azraqī, II, 216, n. 4.

[104] Jabal al-Khandama, rising to about 2000 ft., lies behind and to the east of Abū Qubais.

[105] Reference to Qur'ān, ii, 260: 'And when Ibrāhīm said: O my Lord, show me how Thou dost revive the dead. He said: Believest thou not? He said: Yea, but that my heart may be quieted. He said: Then take four birds and turn them toward thee, then place upon each hill a part of them; thereafter call them, they will come to thee speedily.'

[106] Ibn Jubair more correctly says 'east'; about five miles from the town, to the north of the road to 'Arafāt (description in E. Rutter, *Holy Cities*, 282–4).

[107] See p. 243 below.

[108] The first tradition implies that he was accompanied only by Abū Bakr (called *al-Ṣiddīq*, see p. 164, n. 40) and 'Omar (who was assassinated). For the Ten, see p. 93, n. 98.

[109] See p. 99, n. 123.

Another of them is Jabal Thawr, at the distance of one league from Mecca (God Most High ennoble her) on the road to al-Yaman.[110] In it is the cave which served as a refuge to the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) when he quitted Mecca (God ennoble her) as an emigrant, accompanied by [Abū Bakr] al-Ṣiddīq (God be pleased with him), as is related in the Exalted Book.[111] It is stated by al-Azraqī[112] in his book that this mountain called the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) by his name and said, 'To me, O Muḥammad, to me, for I have given refuge before thee to seventy prophets'. Then when the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) entered the cave and became secure in it, accompanied by his friend al-Ṣiddiq, the spider spun her web at that moment over the door of the cave and the dove made a nest and hatched her eggs in it by the will of God Most High. The polytheists [of Mecca], who had with them a man skilled in tracking footsteps, came at length to the cave and said 'Here the track stops', but when they saw the spider | 339 with its web spun over the mouth of the cave and the dove hatching out its eggs, they said 'No one has gone in here' and turned back. Then [Abū Bakr] al-Ṣiddīq said 'O Apostle of God, what if they had come in upon us from there?' He replied, 'We should have gone out here', and pointed with his blessed hand to the other end, where there was no door; and straightway there was opened in it a door by the power of the King and Giver of all. The people make a point of visiting this blessed cave, and try to enter it through the doorway by which the Prophet (God bless and give him peace) gained entry into it, for the sake of the blessing it confers; there are some of them who manage it, but some of them do not succeed and stick in it until they are pulled out with a ruthless tug. Others perform a prayer in front of the cave, without entering it. The folk of those parts say that anyone who is true-born can enter it, but he who is born of adultery cannot

[110] Six miles south-east of Mecca (description in Rutter, 282–3).

[111] Sūra ix, 40: 'If ye aid him [the Prophet] not, God Himself hath aided him when the unbelievers drove him forth, one of two, when they two were in the cave, when he was saying to his companion: Grieve not, verily God is with us.'

[112] See p. 101, n. 16. The narrative is actually lifted from Ibn Jubair, but much condensed.

do so, and so many people avoid making the attempt because it is liable to end in shame and disgrace.

Ibn Juzayy remarks: I have been told by certain | of our 340 shrewd-minded shaikhs who have made the pilgrimage that the cause of the difficulty in entering is that inside it, close to this cleft by which entrance is gained, there is a large stone lying transversely [across the passage]. When anyone [tries to] enter through this cleft lying flat on his face, his head comes up against that stone, so that he can neither draw himself in nor twist himself upwards, seeing that his face and chest are close to the ground. The man who does this is the one who sticks and cannot get free without suffering some discomfort and being pulled out. But if one enters through the cleft lying on his back, he can manage it, because when his head reaches the transverse stone, he raises his head and rises into a sitting position. He then has his back supported by the transverse stone, his middle in the cleft, and his legs outside the cave, and all he has to do it to stand upright inside the cave. (Resumes.) |

Anecdote. The following incident happened on this moun- 341 tain to two of my associates, one of them the esteemed jurist Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. Farḥān of Tūzar in Ifrīqiya, the other Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad of Wādī Āsh [Guadix] in Andalusia. They proposed [to visit the cave] during the period of their residence in Mecca (God Most High ennoble her), in the year seven hundred and twenty-eight, and went off alone, without getting some guide who knew the way to it to accompany them. They lost themselves in consequence, missed the way to the cave, and followed another track, which came to a sudden end. This was at the time when the heat grows violent and summer is at its most ardent. When the water they had with them was exhausted and they had not yet reached the cave, they began to make their way back to Mecca (God Most High ennoble her). They found a track and followed it up, but it led to another mountain. The heat beat down upon them, thirst tormented them, and they came face to face with death. The jurist Abū Muḥammad ibn Farḥān was finally unable to walk any further, and threw himself | upon the 342 ground. The Andalusian managed to save himself, for he had some remnant of strength left, and he continued to follow the

paths on those hills until the road led him to Ajyād. He then came into Mecca (God Most High ennoble her), sought me out and told me the whole story and about 'Abdallāh al-Tūzarī and his breakdown on the mountain. It was then about the close of day. This 'Abdallāh had a cousin named Ḥasan, who lived in Wādī Nakhla[113] but was at that moment in Mecca. I informed him what had happened to his cousin, and then sought out the pious shaikh, the imām Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān known as Khalīl, the imām of the Mālikites (God profit us by him) and reported his case to him also. He sent out in search of him a company of Meccans who were familiar with those hills and rock-paths. To advert to 'Abdallāh al-Tūzarī, he had betaken himself, 343 when his companion left him, to | a large rock, seeking the shelter of its shade, and he remained in this state of exhaustion and thirst, with the carrion-crows flying over his head and waiting for his death. When the daylight was gone and darkness fell, he recovered some strength, and refreshed by the cool of the night he rose at dawn to his feet and descended from the hillside to the bottom of a wādī, which was sheltered by the mountains from the rays of the sun. He kept on walking until an ass appeared within his view, and making in its direction he found a bedouin tent. When he saw it, he fell to the ground and was unable to rise. He was seen by the woman of the tent, and as her husband had gone to fetch water, she gave him what water she had with her. It did not quench his thirst, and when her husband came back he gave him a whole skin of water without quenching his thirst either. The man set him on an ass which he had and brought him to Mecca, where he arrived at length at the time of the afternoon prayer on the following day, as emaciated as if he had risen from a grave. |

344 *The two amīrs of Mecca.* The amirate of Mecca at the time of my entry was in the hands of the two noble sharīfs, the brothers Asad al-Dīn Rumaitha and Saif al-Dīn 'Uṭaifa, sons of the amīr Abū Numayy b. Abī Sa'd b. 'Alī b. Qatāda, of the Ḥasanid line.[114] Rumaitha was the elder of the two,

[113] Two valleys to the north-east of Mecca which drain into Wādī Fāṭima (see p. 187, n. 125).

[114] For the Ḥasanid amīrs of the line of Qatāda, see Snouck Hurgronje,

but 'Uṭaifa's name was put first in the prayer for him at Mecca, owing to his sense of justice.[115] Rumaitha had of children Aḥmad, 'Ajlān (he is the amīr of Mecca at the present time),[116] Thuqba, Sind, and Mughāmis; 'Uṭaifa's sons were Muḥammad, Mubārak, and Mas'ūd. 'Uṭaifa's house is to the right of Marwa, that of his brother Rumaitha in the convent of al-Sharābī, by the Gate of the Banū Shaiba. Drums are beaten before the gate of each of them at the hour of sunset prayer every day.

The Meccans: their good qualities. The citizens of Mecca are given to welldoing, | of consummate generosity and good dis- 345 position, liberal to the poor and to those who have renounced the world, and kindly towards strangers. One of their generous customs is that when any of them makes a feast, he begins by giving food to the poor brethren who have devoted themselves to the religious life and are sojourning at the Sanctuary, first inviting them with courtesy, kindness and delicacy, and then giving them to eat. The majority of these destitute devotees are to be found by the public ovens, where the people bake their bread. When anyone has his bread baked and takes it away to his house, the destitute follow him up and he gives each one of them whatever he assigns to him, sending none away disappointed. Even if he has but a single loaf, he gives away a third or a half of it, conceding it cheerfully and without grudgingness.

Another good habit of theirs is that orphan children make a practice of sitting in the bazaar, each with two baskets, one large and one small (the Meccans call a basket by the name of *miktal*). A man of the townsfolk | of Mecca comes to the 346 bazaar, where he buys grain, meat and vegetables, and passes these to a boy, who puts the grain in one of his baskets and

Mekka, I (The Hague, 1888), 75 ff, and the table in *Mankul Ṣāfī*, p. 51. Biography of Rumaitha (d. 1346 or 1347) in *Durar*, II, 111–12; of 'Uṭaifa (removed from office 1337, d. 1342), *ibid.* 455–6.

[115] The passive reading *yuqaddamu* is confirmed by the later passage, p. 233 below. 'Uṭaifa was in fact the senior amīr.

[116] 'Ajlān was appointed to succeed his father in 1345, but was for several years engaged in armed conflicts with his brother Thuqba, to the disturbance of the pilgrims. In 1353 Thuqba was imprisoned in Egypt, but later escaped, fell upon the Egyptian forces in Mecca during the Pilgrimage in 1360, and drove them out with severe losses, but died in Mecca a few months later. 'Ajlān died in 1375. *Durar*, I, 530–1; II, 453–4.

the meat and vegetables in the other, and takes them to the man's house, so that his meal may be prepared from them. Meanwhile the man goes about his devotions[117] and his business. There is no instance related of any of the boys having ever abused their trust in this matter—on the contrary he delivers what he has been given to carry, with the most scrupulous honesty. They receive for this a fixed fee of a few coppers.

The Meccans are elegant and clean in their dress, and as they mostly wear white their garments always appear spotless and snowy. They use perfume freely, paint their eyes with kuhl, and are constantly picking their teeth with slips of green arāk-wood.[118] The Meccan women are of rare and sur-347 passing beauty, pious and chaste. They too | make much use of perfumes, to such a degree that a woman will spend the night hungry and buy perfume with the price [of her food]. They make a practice of performing the circuit of the House on the eve of each Friday, and come in their finest apparel, and the sanctuary is saturated with the smell of their perfume. When one of these women goes away, the odour of the perfume clings as an effluvium to the place after she has gone.

The citizens of Mecca observe various excellent customs at the pilgrimage season and other periods of the year, and we shall speak of these, if God Most High will, when we finish our account of its distinguished men and residents.

The Qāḍī and Khaṭīb of Mecca, the Imām of the Pilgrimage Ceremony and the learned and pious citizens. The qāḍī of Mecca is the learned, pious, and devout Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad, [grand-] son of the learned imām Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, a worthy man, liberal in his alms and charities to the [poor] sojourners, of fine character, much given to per-348 forming the circuit and to contemplation | of the illustrious Ka'ba.[119] He distributes an immense quantity of food on the

[117] Literally, 'to his circuit of the Ka'ba'.

[118] Arāk is a leafy shrub (*Salvadora persica*), much prized both for camel fodder, and for the quality of its wood for use as toothpicks.

[119] Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥibb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarī (1260–1330), of a noted family of scholars long established in Mecca, succeeded his father as qāḍī in 1295, and was himself succeeded by his son Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad (d. 1359); *Durar*, I, 297; II, 162; genealogical table in *Manhal Ṣāfī*, no. 183. The title of Muḥyī al-Dīn given by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa to his grandfather is an error.

occasion of the great festivals, especially on the Birthday of the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace), for on that day he distributes food to the Sharīfs, notables, and poor brethren of Mecca, the servitors of the illustrious Sanctuary, and all the sojourners. The Sultan of Egypt, al-Malik al-Nāṣir (God's mercy upon him) held him in high honour, and all the Sultan's alms, together with the alms of his amīrs, used to pass through his hands. His son Shihāb al-Dīn is [also] a worthy man, and it is he who is now qāḍī of Mecca (God ennoble her).

The preacher of Mecca and imām at the Station of Ibrāhīm (upon him be peace) is the chaste and fluent orator, the solitaire of his age, Bahā al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī.[120] He is one of those preachers whose equal in effective mastery of language and excellence of diction is not to be found in the inhabited world. It was told me that he composes a fresh allocution for every Friday, and never afterwards repeats it.

The imām of the Pilgrimage ceremony, who is also imām | of the Mālikites in the illustrious Sanctuary is the learned 349 shaikh and jurist, the pious, humble, and celebrated Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad, son of the jurist-imām the pious and abstinent Abū Zaid 'Abd al-Raḥmān. This is the man who is widely known as Khalīl (God profit us by him and prolong his life to our enjoyment).[121] His family comes from the district of al-Jarīd in Ifrīqiya,[122] where they are known as the Banū Ḥayyūn, being one of the notable families of that part, but his birthplace, and that of his father, was in Mecca (God ennoble her). He is one of the leading citizens of Mecca, nay rather its unique personality and pole, by common consent of all parties, schools and sects. He is immersed in his devotions at all times, modest, generous-minded, of fine character, full of sympathy, never turning away disappointed any who beg his charity.

Anecdote of blessed import. I had a dream in the days of my residence in Mecca (God ennoble her), while I | was living in 350 the Muẓaffarīya college there, that the Apostle of God (God

[120] Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥibb al-Dīn Aḥmad (1279–1331), cousin of the qāḍī.

[121] See p. 203 above. Aḥmad Bābā calls him al-Mālaqī, i.e. of Malaga.

[122] The Shott region in southern Tunisia, so called from its large date-palm oases (*jarīd* = palm frond).

bless and give him peace) was sitting in the class-room of this college, beside the window from which one looks out upon the illustrious Ka'ba, and the people were taking his hand and swearing allegiance to him. I saw in my dream that the shaikh Abū 'Abdallāh called Khalīl came in, squatted before the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace), and placing his hand in the hand of the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) he said 'I give thee my allegiance to do thus and thus', and enumerated a number of things including 'never to turn away a destitute man from my house disappointed'. This was the last phrase of his oath, and I was surprised to hear him saying it, and thought to myself: 'How can he say this and carry out his word, seeing the multitude of the poor of Mecca itself and [those who come hither from] the Yaman, Zaila', al-'Irāq, Persia, Egypt and Syria?' As I saw him in my dream, he was wearing a short white tunic of the cotton 351 fabric | called *fushṭān*,[123] which he used sometimes to put on. Next morning, after performing the dawn prayer, I went to him and told him of my dream. It gave him great pleasure and he wept and said to me: 'This tunic was given by one of the saints to my grandfather and for that reason I put it on [sometimes] for the sake of the blessing'. I never saw him after that turn away a suppliant disappointed. He used to bid his servants bake bread and cook food and bring it to me after the afternoon prayer every day. The people of Mecca eat only once in the day, after the afternoon prayer, and content themselves with that until the same time [on the following day]. If anyone wishes to eat at any other time of day, he eats dried dates, and it is for that reason that their bodies are healthy and that diseases and infirmities are rarely found amongst them.

The shaikh Khalīl was married to the daughter of the qāḍī Najm al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, but later on, after some hesitation 352 about repudiating her, he separated from her. | She was married after this to the jurist Shihāb al-Dīn al-Nuwairī,[124] one of the leading personalities among the sojourners, who

[123] The reading *fushṭān* is given in three MSS. This is 'fustian'.

[124] Aḥmad b. 'Abd al 'Azīz b. al-Qāsim (d. 1336–7) (*Durar*, I, 173), not his homonym Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwairī, the famous historian and encyclopaedist (d. 1333).

came from Upper Egypt. She stayed with him for some years and travelled with him to al-Madīna the Illustrious, accompanied by her brother Shihāb al-Dīn. Her husband, however, having violated an oath which he had sworn 'by repudiation',[125] separated from her in spite of his attachment to her, and the jurist Khalīl took her back some years later.

Amongst the pillars of the community at Mecca are [the imāms of the other three rites, namely] the imām of the Shāfi'ites, Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn al-Burhān;[126] the imām of the Ḥanafites, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī,[127] one of the most notable of the imāms and virtuous men of Mecca—he supplies food to the sojourners and [needy] travellers, and is the most generous of the jurists of Mecca; he runs up debts every year to the amount of forty or fifty thousand dirhams, but God discharges them for him, and the amīrs of the Turks[128] respect him and think highly of him because he is their imām—; and the imām of the Ḥanbalites, the worthy traditionist | Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān, of Baghdādī origin but Meccan 353 birth,[129] who officiated also as substitute of the qāḍī Najm al-Dīn and as *muḥtasib*[130] after the assassination of Taqī al-Dīn al-Miṣrī; the people stood in awe of him on account of his severity.

Anecdote. Taqī al-Dīn al-Miṣrī was *muḥtasib* at Mecca, and had a habit of meddling both with what concerned him and what did not concern him. It happened one year that there was brought before the Amīr al-Ḥajj[131] a boy, one of the [gangs of] ruffians at Mecca, who had stolen from one of the pilgrims. He ordered his hand to be cut off, whereupon Taqī al-Dīn said to him: 'If you do not have it cut off in your

[125] I.e. in which he had used the formula 'May my wife be repudiated if . . .'. The story is told with additional details also in *Durar*, I, 173.

[126] Not identified.

[127] Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Sijzī al-Ḥusainī (1274/5–1361); *Durar*, I, 223.

[128] I.e of the Egyptian Mamluk troops.

[129] Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Othmān b. Mūsā (1261–1331); the family came originally from Āmid (Diyarbekr); *Durar*, IV, 44.

[130] The *muḥtasib* was the officer charged with supervision of the markets and tradesmen, and of public morality in general. Although in principle a subordinate officer of justice, he had wider liberty of action than the qāḍī in dealing with infractions of the law.

[131] The commander of the pilgrim caravan, representing the sultan of Egypt.

presence [the sentence will not be carried out], for otherwise the people of Mecca will take him by force from your underlings, rescue him and set him free.' The amīr gave orders accordingly to cut off his hand in his presence, and it was cut off. The lad vowed vengeance for it upon Taqī al-Dīn, and 354 never | ceased watching and waiting for fortune to turn against him. He could do nothing against him, however, for he had a *ḥasab* from the two amīrs Rumaitha and 'Uṭaifa. The *ḥasab*, in their use of the term, is that someone is given in public assembly a present of a turban or skull-cap which serves as a [mark of] protection for the recipient, and he continues to enjoy the immunity which it confers until he is about to leave Mecca and remove elsewhere. Taqī al-Dīn remained in Mecca for some years, but at length resolved to depart, took leave of the two amīrs, and performed the farewell circuit of the Ka'ba. As he went out [of the mosque] by the Gate of al-Ṣafā, he was met by the same person, the one whose hand was cut off, who complained to him of his miserable condition, and begged of him some [money] with which to relieve his needs. Taqī al-Dīn harshly spurned him and bade him begone, when he drew a dagger he was carrying (it is known amongst them by the name of *jambīya*)[132] and smote him one blow which proved fatal.

Other notables at Mecca are the pious jurist Zain al-Dīn 355 al-Ṭabarī, full brother of Najm al-Dīn | (of whom we have already spoken),[133] a man of merit and charitable to the sojourners; the blessed jurist Muḥammad b. Fahd al-Qurashī, one of the eminent worthies of Mecca, who acted as deputy for the qāḍī Najm al-Dīn after the death of Muḥammad b. 'Othmān al-Ḥanbalī; and the pious notary[134] Muḥammad b. Burhān, abstemious and ascetic, but tormented by secret vagaries. I saw him one day making his ablutions at the tank of the Muẓaffarīya college; he made the ritual washings and then went through them all again, and when he had wiped his head he wiped it over several times more, but even that did not satisfy him and he plunged his whole head into the tank. When he was about to perform the prayers, he would often

[132] Literally, 'a side arm'.
[133] Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d. 1341), see p. 216, n. 119.
[134] *'Adl*; see p. 131, n. 230.

say, as the Shāfi'ite imām was praying, 'I meant to, I meant to' and then pray with some other imām. He was continually making circuits of the Ka'ba and performing the ceremonies of the Lesser Pilgrimage and intoning liturgies. |

Some of the sojourners at Mecca. Among them were the 356 following: the learned and pious imām, the Ṣūfī adept[135] and devotee, 'Afīf al-Dīn 'Abdallāh b. As'ad al-Yamani al-Shāfi'ī, known as al-Yāfi'ī. He was constantly making circuits of the Ka'ba, 'at times in the night and at the extremities of the day'.[136] It was his habit, when he had made his circuits at night, to ascend to the roof of the Muẓaffarīya college and sit there contemplating the illustrious Ka'ba until he was overcome by sleep. He would then put a stone beneath his head and, after sleeping a little, would renew his ablutions and return to his occupation of circuiting until the time for performing the dawn prayer. He was married to the daughter of the legist and devotee Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Burhān. She was a young woman and was for ever complaining to her father of the position in which she found herself;[137] he, on his part, would counsel her to patience, and she stayed with al-Yāfi'ī for some years, during which things grew no better, and at length she separated from him.

The pious devotee Najm al-Dīn al-Usfūnī, who had been | a 357 qāḍī in Upper Egypt and subsequently consecrated himself to the service of God Most High, and became a sojourner at the Illustrious Sanctuary. He used to perform the Lesser Pilgrimage every day from al-Tan'īm,[138] and during Ramaḍān twice a day, in reliance upon the statement in the Tradition attributing to the Prophet (God bless and give him peace) the words 'An 'Umra in Ramaḍān is equivalent to a Pilgrimage in my company'.

The pious and devoted shaikh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥalabī, who was constantly engaged in circuiting and in reciting the Qur'ān. He was one of the most old-established sojourners and died at Mecca (God ennoble her).

The pious Abū Bakr al-Shīrāzī, known as 'the Silent'. He

[135] Literally, 'who has attained to a knowledge of the Verities'. The personages mentioned in this paragraph have not been identified.

[136] Quotation from Qur'ān, xx, 130.

[137] I.e. of her husband's neglect of her.

[138] See p. 209, n. 94.

was constantly engaged in circuiting and stayed at Mecca for some years during which he never spoke.

The pious Khiḍr al-'Ajamī, who continually fasted, read the Qur'ān, and made circuits.

The pious shaikh Burhān al-Dīn al-'Ajamī, the homiletic preacher.[139] A rostrum used to be put up for him facing the illustrious Ka'ba, and he would preach to the people and 358 admonish them | with eloquent tongue and lowly heart, [in a manner] which gripped all hearts.

The pious Qur'ān-chanter Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Miṣrī, an excellent teacher of the recitation [of the Holy Book], who lived in the convent of the Lote-tree. The Egyptians and Syrians made a point of giving alms to him, and he used to teach the orphans to recite the Book of God Most High, as well as paying for their upkeep and clothing them.

The pious and devoted 'Izz al-Dīn al-Wāsiṭī, a man of enormous wealth, to whom a large sum of money was remitted from his native town every year. He used to buy grain and dried dates, and [not only] distribute them to the poor and needy, but even superintend in person the carrying of the goods to their houses. This was his regular custom until he died.

The pious and austere legist Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Rizq Allāh al-Anjarī, belonging to the district of Ṭanja, and one of the saintliest of men. He sojourned at Mecca for some years 359 and died there. | There was a long-standing friendship between him and my father, and whenever he came to our town of Ṭanja he used to stay with us. He had [at Mecca] a room in the Muẓaffarīya college, where he taught theology during the hours of day, and he retired at night to his dwelling in the convent of Rabī'. This is one of the finest convents in Mecca; within its precincts is a well of sweet water with which no other well in Mecca can compare, and its inhabitants are [all] men of saintly life. The people of the Ḥijāz hold this convent in deep veneration and bring votive offerings to it. The people of Ṭā'if supply it with fruits; they have a custom that all

[139] A homiletic preacher (*wā'iẓ*) is one who delivers informal admonitory sermons, in distinction from the official *khaṭīb*, who pronounces the formal allocutions at the Friday prayers.

those who possess a garden, whether of date-palms, grapes, *firsik* (that is peaches), or figs (which they call there *khamt*[140]), pay the tithe from its produce to this convent and convey it there on their own camels. The distance between Mecca and Ṭā'if is two days' journey. If anyone fails to do this, his crop is diminished and dearth-stricken in the following year. |

Anecdote on its miraculous virtue. One day the retainers of 360 the amīr Abū Numayy, the ruler of Mecca, came to this convent, led in the prince's horses, and watered them from the well mentioned above. When the horses were taken back to their stables, they were seized with colics and threw themselves to the ground, beating it with their heads and legs. Word was brought to the amīr Abū Numayy, who went in person to the gate of the convent, apologized to its poor recluses, and begged that one of them should go back with him. This man rubbed the beast's bellies with his hand, when they expelled the water from that well which they had in their stomachs, and were relieved of their pains. The retainers never again ventured to appear at the convent except for good purposes.

Others of the sojourners were: the pious and blessed Abu'l-'Abbās al-Ghomārī, one of the associates of Abu'l-Ḥasan ibn Rizq Allāh; he also lived in the Convent of Rabī' and died at Mecca (God ennoble her); the pious Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf from the environs of Sabta [Ceuta], | who was servitor to the two 361 last-named shaikhs, and after they both died himself succeeded them as shaikh of the convent; the pious ascetic and follower of the Ṣūfī path, Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Farghūs of Tilimsān; Shaikh Sa'īd al-Hindī, shaikh of the convent of Kalāla.

Anecdote. Shaikh Sa'īd had [sometime before this] made his way to the king of India, Muḥammad Shāh, who gave him a large sum of money with which he came to Mecca. There the amīr 'Uṭaifa threw him into prison and demanded of him the surrender of the money. He refused, and was tortured by the compression of his feet [between pieces of wood] until at length he gave up twenty-five thousand dirhams *nuqra*.[141] He

[140] The word is used in Qur'ān, xxxiv. 16, with the meaning of 'coarse wild fruit'.

[141] The *nuqra* dirhams were silver coins (or perhaps more often money of account) of full weight and fineness, by reference to which the various debased dirhams in circulation were valued. Estimates of its value are slightly

[afterwards] went back to India, where I saw him, and lodged in the mansion of the amīr Saif al-Dīn Ghadā b. Hibat-Allāh b. 'Īsā b. Muhannā, the amīr of the Arabs of Syria.[142] Ghadā was settled in India, married to the king's sister, and his story will be related hereafter. The king of India gave 362 Shaikh Sa'īd a sum of money, | and he set out in company with a pilgrim named Washl, one of the men of the amīr Ghadā, whom this amīr had dispatched to fetch some of his dependants to him. He sent with him certain sums of money and valuable presents, including the robe of honour which the king of India had bestowed upon him on the night of his marriage with the latter's sister. This robe was of blue silk, embroidered with gold and encrusted with jewels to such a degree that the colour of the garment could not be seen, so completely did the jewels overlay it. The amīr also entrusted him with fifty thousand dirhams to buy thoroughbred horses for him. Shaikh Sa'īd then set off in company with Washl, and they bought various kinds of merchandise with what moneys they had at their disposal. When, however, they reached the island of Suquṭra—from which the Socotrine aloes take their name—they were attacked by Indian pirates with a large number of vessels.[143] [The occupants of the ship] put up a vigorous resistance to them, in the course of which 363 many perished on both sides, | and Washl, being an archer, killed a good number of them. Finally the pirates overpowered them and struck Washl a blow with a spear, from which he died later, then, after seizing all their possessions, they left them with their ship, sailing tackle, and provisions, with which they made their way to 'Adan, and there Washl died. It is the custom of these pirates that they neither kill nor drown anyone save in the fighting, but only take his money and let him go with his ship where he will, nor do they seize slaves, since they are of their own kind.

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divergent, but the average weight appears to have been 2.97 grammes (45.85 grains).

[142] For Muhannā b. 'Īsā see p. 107, n. 152. The amir Ghadā is mentioned frequently in the third volume of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's travels.

[143] Socotra was notorious in the Middle Ages as a haunt of Indian pirates, but continued to be visited by traders on account of its highly prized red aloes or 'dragon's blood' (the exudation of *Dracaena cinnabari*) and tortoise shells.

Now al-Ḥājj Sa'īd had heard from the king of India that he proposed to recognize the 'Abbāsid cause in his country, as was done by the kings of India who preceded him, like the Sultan Shams al-Dīn Lalmish and his son Nāṣir al-Dīn, or the Sultan Jalāl al-Dīn Firūz-Shāh | and the Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban, to whom robes of honour used to come from Baghdād.[144] When Washl died, therefore, Shaikh Sa'īd made his way to the Caliph Abu'l-'Abbās, son of the Caliph Abu'l-Rabī' Sulaimān the 'Abbāsid at Cairo,[145] and informed him of this. The Caliph then wrote a letter to the Sultan in his own hand, appointing the latter his delegate in the land of India. Shaikh Sa'īd, taking this letter with him, went to the Yaman, where he purchased three black robes, and sailed to India. When he reached Kinbāyat[146] (which is forty days' journey from Dihlī, the capital of the king of India), the intelligence officer[147] wrote to the king informing him of the arrival of Shaikh Sa'īd and that with him was the Caliph's decree and letter. Orders were received [in reply] to dispatch him to the capital with the honours [due to a distinguished guest]. On his approach to the capital, [the king] sent out the amīrs, qāḍīs, and men of law to welcome him, afterwards himself going out to welcome him also, and on meeting him he embraced him. The shaikh delivered to him first the decree, which he kissed and placed upon his head, | and then the chest containing the robes. The king having carried this on his shoulder for a few paces, himself put on one of the robes; the second he bestowed upon the amīr Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Qādir b. Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Mustan-

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[144] Lalmish, Altamsh, etc. are popular corruptions of the name of Iltutmish, the second of the Mamlūk sultans of Dihlī (1210–36). His young son Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd-Shāh reigned 1246–66 under the tutelage of the mamlūk Balban who succeeded him with the title of Ghiyāth al-Dīn and reigned until 1287. In 1290 Balban's descendants were displaced by the Khaljī general Jalāl al-Dīn, who took the title of Fīrūz-Shāh and died in 1296. In his account of India Ibn Baṭṭūṭa gives a popular summary of the history of these sultans. For the illusory nature of Muḥammad b. Ṭughlaq's relations with the Cairo caliphate implied in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's narrative, cf. T. W. Arnold, *The Caliphate* (Oxford, 1924), 103–4.

[145] Recognized at Cairo with the title of al-Ḥākim bi-amri'llāh II (1341–52).

[146] Cambay, see *Selections*, 228–9. The name is spelled here and below with a final *t*.

[147] For the intelligence service in India see *Selections*, 183–4.

ṣir, the 'Abbāsid Caliph, who was staying at his court, and whose story will be related subsequently;[148] the third robe he bestowed upon the amīr Qabūla, entitled 'The Great King', the officer who stands at his head and drives off the flies from him.[149] By the Sultan's order, robes of honour were bestowed upon Shaikh Sa'īd and his companions and he was mounted upon an elephant. He made his entry into the city thus, with the Sultan preceding him upon his horse and to right and left of him the two amīrs upon whom the Sultan had bestowed the 'Abbāsid robes.

The city had in the meantime been embellished with all manner of decorations, and there had been constructed in it 366 eleven wooden pavilions, each | of four stories, and each story containing a troop of singers, male and female, and dancing-girls, all of whom were the Sultan's slaves. Each pavilion was adorned with silken fabrics embroidered in gold, above, below, within and without. In the midst of the pavilions were three tanks made of buffalo hides and filled with water in which julep had been dissolved, for everyone coming or going to drink of, and access to it was denied to none. Each person who drank of it would afterwards be given fifteen leaves of betel, with areca nuts and chalk, to eat; these sweeten one's breath, make one's face and gums redder, act as a preventative of jaundice, and as a digestive of what has been eaten.[150] When Shaikh Sa'īd rode [in state into Dihlī] upon the elephant, silken cloths were spread in his honour in front of the elephant for it to walk upon from the gate of the city to the palace of the Sultan. He was lodged in a mansion close to the royal palace and the Sultan sent him immense gifts of 367 money. None of those fabrics | which had been used as hangings and furnishings in the pavilions, or had been laid in the path of the elephant, was returned to the Sultan, but they were taken by the musicians, the artisans who constructed the

[148] In vol. III, 258–70, of the Arabic text. Al-Mustanṣir was the penultimate caliph of the line of 'Abbāsid Caliphs at Baghdād (reigned 1226–42).

[149] *Selections*, 199. The title *malik* ('king'), which originally implied the government of a province under the imperial sovereign, had gradually declined and was by now frequently bestowed on court dignitaries and other persons.

[150] For the use of betel or *pan* in India see H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson* (London, 1886), s.v. betel.

pavilions, the keepers of the tanks, and other persons. This is their regular practice when the Sultan arrives home after a journey.

The king issued an order that the Caliph's letter be read every Friday from the pulpit in the interval between the two allocutions.[151] Shaikh Sa'īd remained [at Dihlī] for a month, after which the king dispatched him with presents for the Caliph, and he reached Kinbāyat and stayed there until the conditions should become favourable for his journey by sea.

Now the King of India had also sent an accredited envoy to the Caliph, namely the shaikh Rajab al-Burqu'ī, one of the shaikhs of the Ṣūfīs, originally from the town of al-Qirim in the desert of Qibjaq,[152] and had sent with him gifts for the Caliph, including a ruby of the value | of fifty thousand 368 dinars, and [a letter which] he had written to him. In this he requested the Caliph to confer upon him the delegacy for him in the land of India and Sind, or to send to these lands some other person, whomsoever he should think fit. These were the actual terms in which he concluded his letter, in his veneration for the Caliph and sincerity of purpose.

Shaikh Rajab had a brother in Egypt, called the amīr Saif al-Dīn al-Kāshif.[153] When Rajab reached the Caliph, the latter declined to read the letter or to accept the present except in the presence of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl, son of al-Malik al-Nāṣir.[154] Saif al-Dīn then counselled his brother Rajab to sell the stone, which he did, buying with the price of it (amounting to three hundred thousand dirhams) four [other] stones. He presented himself before al Malik al-Ṣāliḥ and delivered the letter to him along with one of the stones, and presented the other stones to his amīrs. They then agreed that a letter should be written to the king of India granting his request, and sent notaries to the Caliph, who testified formally that he had appointed the king as substitute for

[151] The two formal *khuṭbas* or allocutions pronounced by the official *khaṭīb* at the midday congregational service on Fridays; see below, p. 232, n. 160.

[152] Qirim, Qiram, or Solghat, now Stary-Krim, in the interior of the Crimea, was at this time the residence of the Mongol governor of the Crimea (cf. *Selections*, 143). Southern Russia was named by the Muslim geographers after the Turkish tribe of Qipchaq, known to the western writers as Cumans

[153] Not identified.

[154] Reigned 1342-5.

369 himself in the land | of India and the adjacent territories. Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ sent an accredited envoy [to India], namely the Grand Shaikh of Cairo, Rukn al-Dīn al-'Ajamī,[155] and in his company went Shaikh Rajab and a troop of Ṣūfīs. They sailed down the Persian Gulf from al-Ubulla to Hurmuz, where the then Sultan, Quṭb al-Dīn Tamtahan b. Tūrān-shāh,[156] gave them an honourable reception and equipped a vessel for them to take them to India.

They arrived at the city of Kinbāyat at the time when Shaikh Sa'īd was staying there. Its governor at that period was Maqbūl al-Tilingī,[157] one of the intimates of the king of India. Shaikh Rajab had an interview with this amīr and said to him: 'Shaikh Sa'īd has simply put an imposture upon you, and the robes which he brought along were only bought by him in 'Adan. It is your duty to arrest him and send him to Khūnd 'Ālam' (that is, the Sultan). The governor answered him: 'Shaikh Sa'īd is high in the esteem of the Sultan, and so no such action can be taken with him except by the Sultan's order; however, I shall send him along with you, in order that the Sultan himself may decide what to do with him'. The 370 governor then sent a dispatch | to the Sultan with a full statement of what had occurred, and the intelligence officer also wrote an account of the incident. The Sultan was filled with indignation, and would have nothing to do with Shaikh Rajab, for having spoken of this before witnesses, after all the honour that the Sultan had shown to Shaikh Sa'īd. He refused Rajab permission to appear before him and heaped fresh honours upon Shaikh Sa'īd. When the Grand Shaikh entered the presence of the Sultan, the latter rose to greet him, embraced him, and showed him every consideration; and on every occasion that the Grand Shaikh entered before him he would rise for him. This Shaikh Sa'īd, of whom we have been speaking, remained in India, enjoying the king's consideration and favour, and there I left him in the year [seven hundred and] forty-eight.

There lived in Mecca in the days of my sojourn there

[155] Probably Yūsuf b. 'Abdallāh al-Kurdī, known as al-'Ajamī, died in 1366 (*Durar*, IV, 463).

[156] See *Selections*, 119. Tamtahan is an error for Tahamtan (Tehemten).

[157] Conjectural emendation for 'al-T.lt.ki' of the printed text.

Ḥasan the Maghribī, the demoniac, a man of strange life and remarkable character. He had formerly been sound in mind and a servitor of the saint Najm al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī during the lifetime of the latter. |

His story. Ḥasan the demoniac was assiduous in making 371 circuits of the Ka'ba by night, and he used to see during his nightly circuits a faqīr busily circuiting whom he never saw by day. This faqīr came up to him one night, asked him how he was, and said to him 'O Ḥasan, your mother is weeping for you and longing to see you' (she was one of the handmaidens of God); 'would you like to see her?' 'Yes,' he replied, 'but I have no means of doing that'. The faqīr said to him 'We shall meet here tomorrow night, if God Most High will'. The following night, which was the eve of Friday, Ḥasan found him at the spot which he had appointed for their meeting, and they made the circuit of the House together so many times. The faqīr then went out [of the Sanctuary], Ḥasan following close behind him, to the Ma'lā Gate; [arrived there] he bade him shut his eyes and hold fast to his garment. Ḥasan did so. After a time the faqīr asked: 'Would you recognize your own town?' 'Yes', said Ḥasan. 'Well, here it is', he said. Ḥasan opened his eyes and lo! he was at the gate | of his mother's house. So he went in to her, without 372 telling her anything of what had happened, and stayed with her for a fortnight—I think his town was the city of Asafī. He then went out to the cemetery where he found his friend the faqīr, who said to him 'How are you?' He replied: 'O sir, I have been longing to see Shaikh Najm al-Dīn, for I went out of his house in my usual way and have been away from him all these days, and I should like you to take me back to him.' The faqīr, saying 'Yes certainly', made an appointment to meet him at the cemetery by night. When Ḥasan came to him there, he bade him do as he had done at Mecca (God ennoble her), that is, close his eyes and grip his skirt. He did so, and lo! he was in Mecca (God ennoble her)! The faqīr charged him to speak no word to Najm al-Dīn of what had happened, nor to speak of it to any other person, but when he came in to Najm al-Dīn the saint said to him 'Where have you been, Ḥasan, during your absence?' | Ḥasan [at first] 373 would not tell him, but when Najm al-Dīn pressed him, he

told him the story. The Shaikh then said 'Show me the man', and came with him by night. The man came according to his usual custom, and when he passed them Ḥasan said to his master, 'Sir, this is he'. The man heard him and struck him on the mouth with his hand saying 'Be silent, God make thee silent'. Immediately his tongue became tied, and his reason went. So he remained in the Sanctuary, a demented man, making circuits night and day without either ablutions or prayers, while the people looked upon him as a means of blessing and clothed him. When he felt hungry he went out to the market which is between al-Ṣafā and Marwa,[158] where he would make for one of the booths and eat what he liked from it; nobody would drive him off or hinder him—on the contrary, everyone from whose stock he ate anything was rejoiced, and it procured for that person blessing and increase in his sales and profits. Whenever he came into the market, the stall-keepers would crane their necks towards him, on 374 account of | the experience they had gained of the blessing which he conferred. He did exactly the same with the water-carriers when he wished to drink. This continued to be his way of living until the year [seven hundred and] twenty-eight, when the amir Saif al-Dīn Yalmalak[159] came on pilgrimage and took him back with him to Egypt. From that time no further news of him was heard—God Most High profit [us] by him!

Custom observed by the Meccans at their prayers, and the positions of their imāms. One feature of their usage is that the first of the [four] imāms to recite the prayers is the imām of the Shāfi'ites, who is the imām appointed by those in authority.[160] He performs his prayers behind the Holy Station, the Station of Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl (upon him be peace), in a special enclosure for him there of admirable construction. The mass of the people in Mecca belong to his rite. This enclosure is formed by two beams joined by traverses in the shape of a ladder, opposite which are two other beams con-

[158] See p. 206 above.
[159] See p. 30, n. 79.
[160] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa here adapts Ibn Jubair's phrase 'appointed to represent the 'Abbāsid Imām' (i.e. the caliph) to the circumstances of his own time, but leaves it vague whether 'those in authority' are the sharīfs of Mecca or their Mamlūk suzerains. I take *muqaddam* here as used in the western Arabic sense.

nected in the same way, all these beams being fixed upon pedestals | of plaster. Across the top of the beams is laid 375 another beam, containing iron hooks upon which are hung glass lamps.

When the Shāfi'ite imām has finished his prayer the imām of the Mālikites prays after him in an oratory facing the Yamanite angle,[161] and the imām of the Ḥanbalites prays along with him at the same time [from a position] facing that [part of the wall of the Ka'ba] which is between the Black Stone and the Yamanite angle. Lastly, the imām of the Ḥanafites prays facing the sanctified Spout, standing under [an erection similar to that of the Shāfi'ite imām, which forms] an enclosure reserved for him at that point. Candles are placed in front of the imāms in their respective oratories. Their order of praying remains the same for the four services [exclusive of the sunset prayer], but at the sunset prayer they pray all at the same time, each imām leading his own congregation. In consequence of this the people are invaded by some wandering of attention and confusion; the Mālikite [worshipper] often bows in time with the bowing of the Shāfi'ite, and the Ḥanafite prostrates himself at the prostration of the Ḥanbalite, and you see them listening attentively each one | to the voice of the muezzin who is chanting to the 376 congregation of his rite, so that he does not fall victim to inattention.

Their practice in regard to the Khuṭba and the Friday service. Their practice on Fridays is as follows. The blessed pulpit is set up against the wall of the illustrious Ka'ba in the space between the Black Stone and the 'Irāqī angle, so that the preacher is facing the holy Station [of Ibrāhīm]. When the preacher[162] comes out, he advances, dressed in a black robe and wearing a black turban and black hood,[163] all of which are the gift of Al-Malik al-Nāṣir, with gravity and dignity, moving at a deliberate pace between two black standards, held by two of the muezzins, and preceded by one of the chief servitors carrying the *farqa'a*. This is a rod with a thin twisted

[161] Ibn Jubair describes the oratory (*miḥrāb*) as 'made of stone and resembling the wayside oratories'.

[162] The official *Khaṭīb*. The black robe and turban were the official vestments of the 'Abbāsid caliphate.

[163] The *ṭailasān*, corresponding in use to the modern academic hood.

cord at the end; the holder flourishes it in the air and there is heard from it a sharp crack, audible to both those who are within the sanctuary and those outside it,[164] which serves 377 as a signal | that the preacher has come out. He continues to advance thus until he is close to the pulpit, when he [turns aside to] kiss the Black Stone and makes an invocation there. Having done so, he moves on towards the pulpit, preceded by the Zamzam muezzin, who is the chief of the muezzins,[165] dressed in black and with the sword across his shoulder and held [only] by his hand.[166] The two banners are planted on either side of the pulpit, and as the preacher ascends the first of the pulpit steps the muezzin girds him with the sword. He then strikes, with the point of the sword,[167] a blow upon the step loud enough to be heard by those present, and subsequently strikes another blow upon the second step and yet another on the third. When he stands erect on the topmost step, he strikes a fourth blow and remains standing as he makes first a private prayer, with face turned to the Ka'ba, and then turns towards the people and gives the word of peace on his right and left. The people return his salutation, and he then sits down. The muezzins now intone the call to 378 prayer, from the top of the pavilion of Zamzam, | in unison. As soon as the call is completed, the preacher delivers an allocution, full of repeated blessings upon the Prophet (God bless and give him peace), saying, for example: 'O God, bless Muḥammad and the Family of Muḥammad so long as one person makes the circuit of this House' (and he points with his finger to the Holy House), 'O God, bless Muḥammad and the Family of Muḥammad so long as one person makes the stand at 'Arafa'. He then prays that God will be well-pleased with the four Caliphs, the other Companions, the two paternal uncles of the Prophet[168] (God bless and give him peace), his two grandsons, their mother [Fāṭima] and grandmother Khadīja (upon all of them be peace). Next[169] he prays

[164] The use of this instrument seems to have been peculiar to Mecca.

[165] Abū Aḥmad Sālim b. Yāqūt (1267–1362); *Durar*, II, 125.

[166] Not girt on, i.e. suspended from a shoulder-strap, as was usual

[167] The traditional practice of leaning on a sword or bow by the *khaṭīb* derives from an ancient Arab custom of oratory.

[168] Ḥamza (see p. 79, n. 30) and al-'Abbās ('Alī's father Abū Ṭālib having died in infidelity).

[169] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa here passes on directly to the second allocution, omitting

for al-Malik al-Nāṣir, after him for the Sultan, the Champion of the Faith, Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī son of al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Dā'ūd son of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf b. 'Alī b. Rasūl,[170] and after him for the two illustrious Sayyids of the house of al-Ḥasan, the joint-amīrs of Mecca, Saif al-Dīn 'Uṭaifa (whose name, although he is the younger of the brothers, is put first on account of his fair-dealing) and Asad al-Dīn | Runaitha, 379 sons of Abū Numayy b. Abū Sa'd b. 'Alī b. Qatāda. He even prayed for the Sultan of al-'Irāq formerly, but a stop was put to that. On terminating his *khuṭba*, he performs the prayer and withdraws, the two standards being [carried] on his right and left and the *farqa'a* in front of him, to indicate the conclusion of the service. The pulpit is subsequently moved back to its place opposite the Holy Station.

Their practice at the beginning of the months. The ceremony which they observe on these occasions is as follows. The amīr of Mecca comes [in state] on the first day of the month, surrounded by his officers and himself dressed in white, turbaned and girt with a sword, a grave and dignified figure, and makes a prayer of two bowings beside the Holy Station. He then kisses the [Black] Stone and begins to make a sevenfold circuit. Meanwhile, the leader of the muezzins is standing on top of the pavilion of Zamzam. When the amīr completes one turn [round the Ka'ba] and is approaching the Stone to kiss it, the leader of the muezzins breaks out into prayers | for 380 him and congratulations on the entry of the new month, lifting up his voice as he does so. He follows this up by reciting a poem in praise of him and of his noble ancestors, and makes similar invocations and recites similar verses for him on [each of] the seven circuits. The amīr, on completing them, makes a prayer of two bowings at the Multazam, then another prayer also of two bowings behind the Station [of Ibrāhīm], and withdraws. He goes through exactly the same ceremony when he is about to make a journey and on his return from a journey also.

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the pause (see p. 227 above, n. 151). In the second allocution, blessings are invoked on the political authorities recognized at the time and place.

[170] The reigning sultan of the Yaman (*Selections*, 109, and cf. above, p. 203, n. 67).

Their practice in the month of Rajab.[171] When the new moon of Rajab appears, the amīr of Mecca orders the drums and trumpets to be sounded, announcing the entry of the month. Following this he goes out on the first day of the month, mounted on horseback, and accompanied by the citizens of Mecca, on horse and on foot, in marvellous procession. They all engage in games with their weapons before him—the horsemen wheeling and racing, the footmen attacking one another [in sham fighting] and throwing their javelins in the 381 air | and catching them again. The amīr Rumaitha and the amīr 'Uṭaifa are accompanied by their sons and their officers, such as Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 'Alī and Aḥmad sons of Ṣabīḥ, 'Alī b. Yūsuf, Shaddād b. 'Omar, 'Āmir al-Shariq, Manṣūr b. 'Omar, Mūsā al-Muzraqq,[172] and others of the principal descendants of al-Ḥasan and of the chief officers. Preceding them are the standards, drums, and kettledrums, and they present grave and dignified figures. They proceed thus until they reach the appointed place, when they begin on the return journey to the Sacred Mosque in their accustomed order. The amīr then makes the circuit of the House, while the muezzin of Zamzam, on the top of the pavilion of Zamzam, prays for him at the end of every circuit, according to the ceremonial observed by him as we have related it above. When he finishes the sevenfold circuit, he makes a prayer of two bowings at the Multazam, prays at the Station and touches it, and goes out to the *Mas'a*,[173] where he performs the course riding on horseback, with his officers on either side and his guard of spearmen[174] in front of him. After this he 382 returns to his residence. This day is regarded by them as | one of their great feasts, and on it they dress in their finest garments, outrivalling one another in this respect.

The 'Umra of Rajab. The citizens of Mecca celebrate the 'Umra of Rajab with a solemnity such as is not to be seen elsewhere. It goes on continuously night and day, and the

[171] The seventh month of the Muslim year, one of the 'Sacred Months' of the pre-Islamic year, dedicated to the '*umra* or Lesser Pilgrimage.

[172] These names are those of the officers, and some of the readings are uncertain.

[173] See p. 205 above.

[174] *Al-ḥarrāba*, the negro guard of the amīrs of Mecca, formed of foot-soldiers armed with spears or javelins.

whole space of the month is occupied with devotions, more especially its first, fifteenth, and twenty-seventh days, since they are engaged for some days beforehand in making preparations for these ceremonies. I witnessed their doings as a participant on the eve of the twenty-seventh of the month.[175] The streets of Mecca were choked with howdahs, covered with cloths of silk and fine linen, everyone making a show to the measure of his means, and the camels were decorated, with silken collars on their necks, and long hangings of the howdahs that all but reached the ground, so that they looked like pitched tents. | The whole gathering then goes out to the 383 appointed place of Tan'īm, so that the valleys of Mecca are [as it were] aflood with these howdahs. Fires are lighted on both sides of the road, and candles and torches [carried] in front of the howdahs. The hills answer with their echoes the cries of *Labbaika*[176] raised by the worshippers, [and the scene so stirs the emotions] that men's hearts are softened and their eyes flow with tears. On completing the 'Umra and making the circuit of the Holy House, they go out [of the Sanctuary] to make the course between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa when about a third[177] of the night is past. The *Mas'a* is ablaze with lamps and choked with the mass of people and women making the ceremony of the course in their howdahs, and the Sacred Mosque also glows with light.

The Meccans give to this 'Umra the name of *al-'Umra al-Akamīya* [that is to say, the 'Umrah of the Eminence] because they commence the rites of pilgrimage on this occasion from an eminence in front of the mosque of 'Ā'isha[178] (God be pleased with her) and at a distance [from it] of a bowshot, close to the mosque called by the name of 'Alī (God be pleased with him). The origin of this ceremony goes back to 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubair[179] (God be pleased | with him and 384

[175] For the significance of this date see the following paragraph.

[176] See p. 184, n. 109

[177] The missing word in two MSS is probably *ḥad'* (cf. Ibn Jubair, 130).

[178] See p. 209 above

[179] See p. 179, n. 85. The Ka'ba having been damaged during the siege of Mecca by the Syrian forces sent against him in 683, he pulled the remains down and rebuilt it with some modifications, reincorporating the *ḥijr* (see p. 199, n. 43) in the new building. It was most probably on the occasion of this siege that the Black Stone was cracked, when the Ka'ba was set on fire (see above, p. 197 and n. 35).

with his father). When he had completed the building of the sanctified Ka'ba, he went out, walking barefooted, to make an 'Umra accompanied by the citizens of Mecca. The date was the twenty-seventh day of Rajab. He went as far as this eminence, and having begun the rites of pilgrimage from there made his way by the track of al-Ḥajūn to the Ma'lā,[180] whence the Muslims entered Mecca on the Day of Conquest. This 'Umra has therefore remained a traditional practice among the people of Mecca down to the present day. The 'day of 'Abdallāh' was celebrated, for he himself provided a large number of animals for sacrifice upon it, and the chiefs of the Meccan families and other citizens of means did the same, and the people continued for several days to eat and to give to eat, in gratitude to God Most High for the furtherance and help which He had granted to them in building His Holy House exactly as it had been in the days of al-Khalīl (the blessings of God be upon him). But later on, when Ibn al-Zubair was killed, al-Ḥajjāj pulled down the Ka'ba and
383 restored it to its plan [as it was].| in the time of Quraish. For they had cramped its construction[181] and the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace) left it in that condition owing to the recency of their conversion from infidelity.[182] Subsequently the Caliph Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr[183] proposed to restore it to the measurements of Ibn al-Zubair, but Mālik (God's mercy upon him) dissuaded him from this project, saying 'O Commander of the Faithful, make not the House a plaything for kings, to chop and change as often as any of them wishes to do so'. So al-Manṣūr left it as it was, to stay the hand of future generations.

The inhabitants of the districts neighbouring on Mecca, such as the tribes of Bajīla, Zahrān and Ghāmid,[184] are zealous in attending the 'Umra of Rajab. They bring to the

[180] See p. 206, n. 80.

[181] I.e. when rebuilding the Ka'ba after a fire about A.D. 590, they had left the semicircular end outside the building, and merely marked its original limits by the low wall of the *ḥijr*.

[182] Literally, 'the short time since their adherence to infidelity', quoting a phrase which, according to tradition, Muḥammad addressed to 'Ā'isha: 'Were it not for the shortness of time since thy people were in infidelity, I would pull down the Ka'ba and rebuild it.'

[183] See p. 207, n. 83.

[184] Southern Arab tribes which occupied the hill country (*Sarāt*, see

city quantities of grain, melted butter, honey, raisins, oil and almonds, with the result that the prices are lowered in Mecca, its citizens enjoy a comfortable life and luxuries are within the reach of all. Were it not for the people of these districts, the lot of the Meccans would be hard indeed. It is said that whenever the tribesmen remain in their own countries, without | bringing these provisions, their lands are 386 stricken with drought and the murrain[185] breaks out amongst their animals; but when they convey the provisions their lands become fruitful and yield in plenty[186] and their herds increase. Consequently if, when the time comes round for them to transport their provisions, they are overtaken by neglect of it, their women-folk assemble and force them to go out. This is one of the favours due to the bounty of God Most High and His solicitude for His sure city.

The territories of al-Sarw[187] which are inhabited by Bajīla, Zahrān, Ghāmid, and other tribes, is fertile, producing large quantities of grapes and abundant crops. Its inhabitants are eloquent of tongue and [notwithstanding their rude ways] sincere in motive and possessed of genuine religious conviction. For it is their practice when they make the circuit of the Ka'ba, to throw themselves impetuously upon it, seeking the refuge of its protection, clinging to its coverings[188] and uttering supplications with a touchingness at which the hearts [of all hearers] are riven, and even stony eyes are filled with tears, so that you see those who stand around them stretching out | their hands and saying 'Amen' to their 387 prayers. It is impossible for anyone else to make the circuit along with them, or to touch the Stone, because of the way they jostle one another in the performance of these rites. They are brave and strong, and wear garments of skins. When they come up to Mecca the bedouin Arabs on their route

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n. 187 below) to the south-east and south of Mecca. Zahrān and Ghāmid are still among the leading tribes in 'Asīr.

[185] Reading, with Ibn Jubair, *al-mūtān* for *al-mawt* ('death').

[186] Literally, 'blessing becomes manifest in them'.

[187] Usually called by the feminine form, al-Sarāt, 'the highlands': in particular the ranges from eastwards of Mecca southwards to Najrān, the northern outpost of the Yaman.

[188] Ibn Jubair adds 'so that wherever their hands get a grip of them they are torn to shreds by the roughness with which they pull on them'.

stand in fear of their approach and keep out of their way, but those who come on pilgrimage as their fellow-travellers speak highly of their company. It is told that the Prophet (God bless and give him peace) made mention of them and praised them highly, saying: 'Teach them how to make the ritual of prayer, and they will teach you how to make supplication.' But [even were there nothing else] it would be honour enough for them to be included within the general terms of his saying (God bless and give him peace): 'Faith is of Yaman, and Wisdom is of Yaman.' It is related also that 'Abdallāh b. 'Omar[189] (God be pleased with both) used to choose the time of their making the circuit [as the most propitious] and to join with them, seeking a blessing by their supplications. Everything about them is really extraordinary, and the following saying is reported in a tradition: 'Compete with them in the circuit, for God's mercy is poured out upon them with pouring.' |

388 *Their practice on the night of mid-Sha'bān.*[190] This is one of the nights held in veneration by the people of Mecca, in which they zealously betake themselves to pious works, such as making the circuit, praying in groups or singly, and performing the 'Umra. They assemble in the Sacred Mosque in groups, each group with an imām, and light lamps, small and large, and torches; the beams of the moon forming a counterpart to this, earth and heaven alike aglow with light. They make a prayer of a hundred bowings, reciting at each bowing the Mother-chapter[191] and the Chapter of Assertion of the Unity,[192] repeating them over ten times each. Some persons pray individually in the Ḥijr, some make the circuit of the illustrious House, while others have previously gone out to perform the 'Umra.

Their practice in the month of Ramaḍān the Exalted. When 389 the new moon of Ramaḍān appears, | the drums and kettle-drums are beaten at the house of the amir of Mecca, and great preparations are made in the Sacred Mosque by way of

[189] Son of the second caliph 'Omar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, d. 693; see p. 167, n. 48.

[190] See p. 46, n. 139.

[191] The first Sūra of the Qur'ān (*al-Fātiḥa*), known as 'the Mother of the Book'.

[192] Sūra cxii (*al-Ikhlāṣ* = 'single-minded devotion').

renewing the mats and augmenting the number of candles and torches, until the Sanctuary gleams with light and glows, radiant and resplendent. The imāms form separate groups [each with the followers of his own rite], that is to say, the Shāfi'īs, Ḥanafīs, Ḥanbalīs, and Zaidīs;[193] as for the Mālikis, they collect round four reciters, who take it in turn to recite the Qur'ān, and light candles. There is not a corner or spot left in the Sanctuary but it is occupied by some Qur'ān-reciter leading a group in prayer, so that the mosque is filled with a babel of readers' voices, and all spirits are softened, all hearts wrung,[194] and all eyes bathed in tears. Some persons, however, restrict themselves to making the circuit and to solitary prayer in the Ḥijr. The Shāfi'īs are the most zealous of the imāms in their devotional exercises. It is their practice that, after completing the customary night-prayers,[195] of twenty bowings, their imām makes the circuit of the Ka'ba together with his congregation. | At the end of the sevenfold 390 circuit, the *farqa'a*—the object which we have mentioned as being carried before the preacher on Fridays[196]—is sounded. This is a signal to resume the prayers. The imām then performs a prayer of two bowings and after that makes a sevenfold circuit, and so on until he completes twenty additional bowings [with his congregation], when they pray the 'even' and the 'odd'[197] and disperse. The rest of the imāms make no addition whatever to the customary [prayers].

When the time comes for taking the last meal before dawn[198] the muezzin of Zamzam has the duty of announcing its hour from the minaret which is at the eastern angle of the Sanctuary. He takes up the call, summoning, reminding, and urging [all men] to make their early repast, followed by the muezzins on the remaining minarets [in a kind of chant]; when one of them recites, his neighbour responds to him. There is also erected on the top of each minaret a post with a

[193] See p. 182, n 103.

[194] Reading *taḥṣuru* for *taḥḍuru*.

[195] The special night-prayers (*tarāwīḥ*) observed during the month of fasting (Ramaḍān).

[196] See p. 231 above.

[197] Two supplementary bowings followed by a third, prescribed or recommended by the different legal schools after the special night-prayers.

[198] The *saḥūr*, before beginning the day's fast at daybreak.

crosspiece at its head, on which are suspended two great glass lanterns. These are kept alight [during the hour of the *saḥūr*], 391 and when the hour of dawn approaches | and the warning to cease from eating has been issued time after time, the two lanterns are lowered, and the muezzins begin the call to prayer, responding one to the other. The houses of Mecca (God ennoble her) have terraced roofs, so that those whose houses are at such a distance that they cannot hear the call to prayer are able to see these two lanterns, and may continue to make their meal until, on seeing them no longer, they cease from eating.

In every odd night of the last ten nights of Ramaḍān they 'seal' the Qur'ān.[199] The ceremony is attended by the qāḍī, the scholars and the notables, and the person who reads the last portion to them is one of the sons of the notables of Mecca. When he ends the reading, a rostrum is put up for him, adorned with silk, candles are lit, and he delivers an address. At the conclusion of his address, his father invites those present to his house, where he entertains them with a great variety of viands and sweetmeats.

This they do on the eves of all the odd days [in the last 392 decade of the month], but the most solemn | of these nights with them is the eve of the twenty-seventh, and their celebration of it is more elaborate than their celebration of the other nights. The Glorious Qur'ān is 'sealed' on this occasion behind the holy Station [of Abraham] and opposite the enclosure of the Shāfi'ites there is put up [a stand, formed of] large wooden beams,[200] extending [across the breadth of the Sanctuary] as far as this enclosure. [Strong wooden traverses are attached to the beams] and long planks are laid between them [on these traverses], the whole forming three stories. On these are placed candles [on the upper story] and glass lanterns [on the two lower stories], so that the dazzling rays of the lights all but blind the eyes. The imām then comes

[199] Although *Lailat al-Qadr*, the 'Night of Destiny' (see n. 201 below), is usually commemorated on 27th Ramaḍān, early tradition is uncertain which of the odd nights of the last third of the month is the actual night. For 'sealing', i.e. reciting the whole of the Qur'ān, see p. 153, n. 318.

[200] The words in square brackets are from Ibn Jubair, the passage having been so drastically abridged as to be unintelligible in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's text. For the enclosure of the Shāfi'ites see p. 230.

forward and performs the prescribed last prayer for the evening. After this he begins to recite the Chapter of Destiny,[201] this being the chapter to which the recital of the imāms would have reached in the previous night. At that moment all the imāms interrupt their night-prayers,[202] in respect for the 'sealing of the Station', and themselves attend it to profit by the blessing. The imām completes the recitation [by reciting the last sūras] in the course of four bowings and after doing so stands up to deliver an address, with his face towards the Station. When he concludes the address, the imāms return to their night-prayers, and the assembly disperses. Finally there is the 'Sealing' on the eve of the twenty-ninth, | [which takes place] in the Mālikite 393 oratory,[203] with a modest show. The Qur'ān is sealed and an address is delivered, [nothing more].

Their practice in Shawwāl. It is their practice in Shawwāl, being the initial month of the [four] 'recognized' months of the Pilgrimage,[204] to kindle torches on the night of its new moon, and to light lamps and candles [in the Sanctuary] much as they do on the eve of the twenty-seventh of Ramaḍān. Lamps are lit also on the minarets, on all sides of them,[205] and both the entire roof of the Sanctuary and the roof of the mosque which is on top of Abū Qubais are illuminated. The muezzins spend the whole of that night in reciting formulas of praise to God,[206] while the people are variously engaged in making the circuit, praying, reciting hymns of praise, or making supplications. When they have performed the dawn prayer, they set about making preparations for the Feast,[207] dress in their finest clothes, and hasten

[201] Sūra xcvii: 'Verily, We caused it to descend on the Night of Destiny. And what hath told thee the meaning of the Night of Destiny? The Night of Destiny is better than a thousand nights. Therein descend the angels and the Spirit by the Will of thy Lord by reason of every command. Peace it is until the rising of the daybreak.'

[202] *Tarāwīḥ*; see above, n. 195.

[203] See p. 231 above.

[204] The term 'recognized' (*ma'lūmāt*) is quoted from Qur'ān, xxii, 28, relating to the Pilgrimage.

[205] Probably a slip for 'on all sides of it' (i.e. the sanctuary), as in Ibn Jubair.

[206] Literally, 'in repeating "There is no god but God" and "God is most Great" and "Magnified be God" '.

[207] I.e. of the Fast-breaking; see p. 14, n. 27.

394 to take their places [for prayers] | in the illustrious Sanctuary. It is there that they perform the festival prayer,[208] for there is no place more excellent than it. The members of the Shaiba family are the first to reach the mosque in the morning, when they open the door of the sanctified Ka'ba and their chief remains sitting on its threshold, with the other members standing before him, until the amīr of Mecca arrives. They go forward to receive him, and he makes a sevenfold circuit of the House, while the muezzin of Zamzam stands on the roof of the Zamzam pavilion as usual, raising his voice in panegyrics of him and prayers for him and for his brother, as has already been described.[209] Then the preacher advances between two black banners, preceded by the *farqa'a*,[210] and himself dressed in black. He performs the prayer behind the holy Station, then ascends the *mimbar* and delivers an eloquent allocution. Then, when he concludes it, the people turn to one another with greetings, handclasps, and prayers for the forgiveness of sins, approach the illustrious Ka'ba, 395 and enter it in troops. Subsequently | they go out to the cemetery at the Ma'lā gate,[211] to obtain blessing through [the visitation] of those who rest in it of the Companions and eminent men of the early generations of Islam, after which they disperse.

The Sacralization of the Ka'ba.[212] On the twenty-seventh day of Dhu'l-Qa'da, the curtains of the illustrious Ka'ba (God increase it in veneration) are girt up to the height of about nine feet on all four sides, in order to protect them from men's hands, lest they should appropriate them. They call this ceremony 'the sacralization of the Ka'ba', and it is a day on which there is a large concourse in the illustrious Sanctuary. The sanctified Ka'ba is not opened again from that day until the Standing at 'Arafa is accomplished.

The rites and acts of the Pilgrimage. On the first day of the month of Dhu'l-Ḥijja the drums and kettledrums are sounded 396 at the hours of prayer and in the morning and evening, | to mark the blessed festival season, and they continued to be so

[208] Instead of holding them in a special *Muṣallā*; see p. 13, n. 20.
[209] See p. 233 above.
[210] See p. 231 above.
[211] See p. 206 above; for the visiting of cemeteries, see p. 46, n. 138.
[212] I.e. draping it for the rites of the Pilgrimage.

sounded until the day of the ascent to 'Arafāt.[213] On the seventh of Dhu'l-Ḥijja the preacher, after the noon prayer, delivers an eloquent address, in which he instructs the people in the ceremonies which they are to perform and gives them notice of the day of the Standing [at 'Arafa]. On the eighth day, the people set out early on the ascent to Minā. The amīrs from Egypt, Syria and al-'Irāq and the learned spend that night at Minā, and there is a contest of ostentation and magnificence between the Egyptian, Syrian, and 'Irāqī contingents by the lighting of candles, but the palm for this always goes to the Syrians.

On the ninth day they start out from Minā for 'Arafa after the dawn prayer, and on their way pass through [a ravine called] Wādī Muḥassir, where they quicken their pace, that being a *sunna*.[214] Wādī Muḥassir is the boundary between Muzdalifa and Minā. Muzdalifa is a wide flat piece of ground | between two mountains, and surrounded by covered cisterns 397 and water tanks which form part of those constructed by Zubaida, daughter of Ja'far b. Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, and wife of the Commander of the Faithful Hārūn al-Rashīd.[215] From Minā to 'Arafa is five miles, and so also from Minā to Mecca is five miles. 'Arafa has three names: 'Arafa, Jam', and al-Mash'ar al-Ḥarām.[216] 'Arafa is a wide and ample plain, surrounded by numerous mountains, and at the far end of the plain of 'Arafāt is the Hill of Mercy. It is on this and the area

[213] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa uses both forms of the name, 'Arafa and 'Arafāt, but seems to imply by the former the 'Hill of Mercy' and by the latter the plain south-westward of it; see p. 244 below.

[214] I.e. practice traditionally handed down as a practice of the Prophet. For Wādī Muḥassir, a narrow ravine to the east of Minā, see Rutter, *Holy Cities*, I, 155–6.

[215] The Lady Zubaida, a prominent figure in the history of Hārūn al-Rashīd, is especially celebrated for the construction of an aqueduct which brought water to Mecca from the eastward ranges, and of cisterns on the Pilgrim Road from Kūfa to Faid, which is still called by her name, the *Darb Zubaida*; cf. pp. 251, 254 below.

[216] This is a curious error, due to a misreading of Ibn Jubair (p. 172, 8–9). The *Mash'ar al-Ḥarām* (i.e. 'Sacred Symbol') is an ancient sanctuary at Muzdalifa on a hill formerly dedicated to Quzaḥ, the god of lightning: it is mentioned two pages below. A mosque was built near the old tower on which the sacred fire was kindled, and the practice of illumination during the Pilgrimage was transferred to it. The name *Jam'* or 'Assembly' was later extended to the whole stretch from Minā to 'Arafāt. On the Mash'ar al-Ḥarām, see Rutter, *Holy Cities*, I, 165–7.

around it that the Standing[217] is made. The two pillars are passed about a mile before reaching it, and mark the boundary between sacred and profane territory. Close by them is the Bottom of 'Urana, the place beyond which, according to the instructions of the Prophet (God bless and give him peace), pilgrims must proceed. One must be careful about this, and one must also refrain from the 'rushing down'[218] until the disappearance of the sun behind the horizon is complete, because the camel-drivers frequently try to urge a number of people [to get away early], and by putting them 398 in fear of the jostling during the rush | beguile them on until they bring them into the Bottom of 'Urana, and so their pilgrimage is nullified. The Hill of Mercy, of which we have spoken, stands in the middle of the plain of Jam',[219] isolated from the [surrounding] mountains, and consists of detached boulders. On top of it is a dome attributed to Umm Salama[220] (God be pleased with her), and in the centre of this is a mosque, to pray in which there is great competition amongst the pilgrims. Encircling the mosque is a wide terrace, which overlooks the plain of 'Arafāt. On its qibla side[221] is a wall in which several *miḥrābs* have been constructed; the pilgrims perform a prayer in these. At the foot of this hill, to the left of one who faces the Ka'ba, is a building of ancient construction, attributed to Adam (upon him be peace).[222] To the left of it again are the rocks beside which was the alighting place of the Prophet (God bless and give him peace), and round about this spot are basins and wells for holding water. Nearby

[217] The Standing (*wuqūf*) at 'Arafāt, eastward of the Bottom of 'Urana, during the afternoon of 9th Dhu'l-Ḥijja, while the sermons are being delivered from Jabal 'Arafa (the Hill of Mercy), is the essential element of the Pilgrimage, and without it no pilgrimage is regarded as valid. It will be noted that Jabal 'Arafa itself is actually outside the limits of the sacred territory.

[218] The 'rushing-down' (*ifāḍa*) at the close of the ceremonies at 'Arafa is described below.

[219] 'Of Jam'' is an addition to the text of Ibn Jubair by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa; see above, n. 216.

[220] One of Muḥammad's wives, the widow of a Meccan adherent who died of wounds received in the battle of Uḥud (see p. 181, n. 99).

[221] Here obviously not south, but west.

[222] The mosque of Namira (so called from the name of one of the surrounding mountains; Rutter calls it 'Mesjid Nimra'); its construction is also attributed to Abraham. See Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage de la Mecque*, 245–6.

is the place in which the imām halts and preaches and combines the noon and afternoon prayers [before the beginning of the 'Standing']. To the left of the two pillars, still as one faces [the Ka'ba] | is Wādī'l-Arāk, in which there are green 399 arāk[223] bushes extending over the ground for a great distance. When the time comes for the rush,[224] the Mālikite imām signals with his hand and descends from his place. At once the multitude thrusts forward in the rush with a single surge at which the earth shakes and the hills tremble. O holy station and exalted place of visitation, to gain whose happy issue is all souls' desire, towards the effusions of whose mercy all men's hopes aspire, God grant we be of those whom He singles out there with His approbation.

The date of my first 'Standing' [at 'Arafa] was a Thursday, in the year [seven hundred and] twenty-six,[225] the commander of the Egyptian caravan at that time being Arghūn the dawādār,[226] the lieutenant of al-Malik al-Nāṣir. In the same year, the daughter of al-Malik al-Nāṣir, wife of this Arghūn's son Abū Bakr, came on pilgrimage, and likewise the wife of al-Malik al-Nāṣir, called al-Khūnda, she being the daughter of the exalted Sultan Muḥammad Uzbak, king of al-Sarā | and Khawārazm.[227] The commander of the Syrian 400 caravan was Saif al-Din al-Jūbān.[228]

When the rush took place after sunset, we reached Muzdalifa at the time of the last night prayer, and performed there the sunset and night prayers combined, in accordance with the *sunna* of the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace). When we had performed the dawn prayer at Muzdalifa, we went on next morning to Minā, after the 'halt' and supplication made at al-Mash'ar al-Ḥarām.[229] The whole of Muzdalifa is a place of halting, except Wādī Muḥassir, for in the latter the pilgrims observe the 'quickening of the pace'

[223] See p. 216, n. 118.
[224] See above, n. 218.
[225] 6 November 1326.
[226] See p. 54, n. 163.
[227] Sultan of the Golden Horde, reigned 1312–41. His daughter Ṭulunbeg (Dulunbiya) was married to al-Nāṣir in 1320, but divorced by him eight years later.
[228] Jūbān al-Manṣūrī, d. at Damascus in 1328 (not to be confused with the Mongol noble of the same name, killed in the same year; see p. 109, n. 157).
[229] See p. 243, n. 216.

until they emerge from it.[230] From Muzdalifa the majority of the pilgrims [collect and] carry with them the pebbles for the stoning,[231] and this is indeed recommended, but there are some who pick them up around the Mosque of al-Khaif.[232] The usage in this respect is wide. When the pilgrims arrived at length at Minā, they went at once to [perform the rite of] the throwing of the stones at the 'Pillar of the Defile', which done they offered up their sacrifices of camels or sheep.[233] Thereafter they shaved their heads and became free of all 401 things except women | and perfume [from which they are bound to abstain] until they perform the 'circuit of the out-pouring'.[234] The stoning of this pillar is done at sunrise on the Day of Sacrifice.[235] When they had thrown their stones at it, the majority of the pilgrims, after slaughtering [their animals] and shaving their heads, proceeded to [Mecca to execute] the 'circuit of the outpouring', but there were some who stayed [at Minā] till the following day. On the second day of the Festival the pilgrims [having returned to Minā the previous evening] threw at the hour of declension of the sun seven pebbles at the 'First Pillar' and a like number at the 'Middle Pillar' [and the Pillar of the Defile], and stood for a moment to make an invocation at these two pillars [but not at the third], following the example set by the Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace). On the third day the people made haste to go down to Mecca (God ennoble her), after [throwing seven pebbles at each of the pillars again and thus] having

[230] See p. 243 above.

[231] For the throwing of the pebbles at the three pillars (*al-Jamarāt*) on the days following the ceremonies at 'Arafāt, see Rutter, *Holy Cities*, I, 170–85, and Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage*, 268–76; also the article 'Djamra' in *E.I.* Muslim tradition associated the stonings with Abraham's stoning of the devil at the time of his intended sacrifice of Ishmael (in the Muslim view), but the rites are certainly pre-Islamic.

[232] The Masjid al-Khaif at Minā, an ancient enclosure refitted as a mosque, was by some traditionists regarded as the tomb of Adam.

[233] Literally 'stabbed [camels] in the pit of the throat and severed the jugular vein [of sheep and goats]'.

[234] *Ṭawāf al-ifāḍa*, the latter word being the same as that used to describe the 'rushing-down' from 'Arafāt (see p. 244, n. 218). This circuit of the Ka'ba on the 10th day of the month technically completes the Pilgrimage, and constitutes the rite of desacralization.

[235] The 10th of Dhu'l-Ḥijja, so named from the sacrifices just mentioned. This is the first day of the Festival of the Pilgrimage (*'Īd al-Aḍḥā*, or Greater Bairām).

completed the throwing of forty-nine stones, but many of them remained during the third day after the Day of Sacrifice until they had thrown seventy stones.[236]

The curtain of the Ka'ba. On the Day of Sacrifice the [new] curtain of the illustrious Ka'ba is conveyed | from the [head- 402 quarters of the] Egyptian caravan to the Holy House and laid on its roof. Then, on the third day after the Day of Sacrifice, the Shaibīs[237] set about draping it over the illustrious Ka'ba. It is a jet-black covering of silk lined with linen, and at the top end of it is an embroidered band on which is written in white [lettering]: *God hath established the Ka'ba, the Sacred House, to be a Station* and so on, to the end of the verse.[238] On all sides of it are embroidered bands having verses of the Qur'ān inscribed upon them in white, with a glistening radiance which glows out against the black background of the curtain. When it has been adjusted, its ends are looped up, as a protection against mens' hands.[239] Al-Malik al-Nāṣir is [the ruler][240] who has the charge of providing the curtain of the Ka'ba, he also sends the emoluments of the qāḍī, preacher, imāms, muezzins, mosque-servitors and overseers, and all the requirements of the illustrious Sanctuary in candles and oil every year.

During this period | the illustrious Ka'ba is open every day 403 for the benefit of the 'Irāqīs, Khurāsānīs, and others who come with the 'Irāqī caravan, while they continue to stay at Mecca for four days after the departure of the Syrian and Egyptian caravans. Meanwhile they make lavish distribution of alms to the sojourners and others; I have indeed seen them going round the Sanctuary by night and making gifts of silver

[236] I.e. to the 13th of the month. This was the old usage, but permission to reduce the period to two days is expressly given in the Qur'ān (Sūra ii, 203): 'And whoso hasteneth in two days, it is no sin in him, and whoso delayeth, it is no sin in him.' The Mālikites generally took advantage of this permission to return to Mecca on the third day and Ibn Jubair gives it to be understood that in his time all the pilgrims did so, owing to the frequent clashes at Minā between the black troops of Mecca and the Turkish troops from 'Irāq.

[237] See p. 195, n. 28.

[238] Qur'ān, v, 98.

[239] Ibn Jubair says more precisely 'against the hands of the Persians and their vigorous tugging', but 'Persians' (*a'ājim*) is probably a scribal error for 'bedouins'; see p. 237 above.

[240] See p. 203, n. 68, above.

and cloth to all the sojourners or Meccans whom they found in the Sanctuary, and giving likewise to those who were engaged in contemplation of the illustrious Ka'ba. Often they find a man sleeping and then they put gold or silver in his mouth until he awakes. When I came [to Mecca] with them from al-'Irāq in the year twenty-eight, they did a great deal of this, and were so lavish with their alms that the price of gold depreciated in Mecca, and the exchange of the *mithqāl* rose to eighteen dirhams *nuqra*,[241] on account of the quantity of gold 404 which they distributed in charity. | In that same year the name of the Sultan Abū Sa'īd, king of al-'Irāq, was mentioned from the pulpit and the pavilion of Zamzam.[242]

[241] See p. 223, n. 141. The normal rate of exchange was 20 dirhams to the mithqāl.

[242] See pp. 232–3 and n. 169; and for Abū Sa'īd, *Selections*, 100–1.

CHAPTER V

From Mecca to Kūfa

The departure from Mecca (God Most High ennoble her). On the twentieth day precisely of Dhu'l-Ḥijja[1] I went out of Mecca in company with the commander of the caravan of al-'Irāq, the Pehlewān Muḥammad al-Ḥawīh,[2] a man of al-Mawṣil, who occupied the office of commander of the pilgrims after the death of Shaikh Shihāb al-Dīn Qalandar. Shihāb al-Dīn was an open-handed and worthy man, who was held in high honour by his sultan, and used to shave his beard and eyebrows after the fashion of the Qalandarīs.[3] When I left Mecca (God Most High ennoble her) in company with the above-mentioned amīr Pehlewān, he hired for me the half of a double litter as far as Baghdād, paying its cost from his own purse, and took me under his protection. We went out to the Bottom of Marr,[4] after performing the Farewell Circuit with a host of men of al-'Irāq, Khurāsān, Fārs and other eastern lands, of uncountable multitude, [so many that] the earth surged with them | [as the sea surges] with dashing waves and their advance was like the march of high-piled clouds. Anyone who left the caravan for a natural want and had no mark by which to guide himself to his place could not find it again for the vast number of people. Included in this caravan were many water-carrying camels for the poorer pilgrims,[5] who could obtain drinking water from them, and other camels to carry provisions [for issue] as alms and to carry medicines, potions and sugar for those who should be attacked by illness. Whenever the caravan halted food was

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[1] 17 November 1326.

[2] The Persian term *pahlawān* (meaning properly 'hero', 'athlete') was occasionally applied metaphorically to ṣūfī adepts. I have not identified this personage.

[3] For the Qalandarīs see p. 37, n. 108.

[4] See p. 187, n. 125.

[5] Literally, 'sons of the road', those who went on foot.

cooked in great brass cauldrons, called *dasts*,[6] and supplied from them to the poorer pilgrims and those who had no provisions. With the caravan also was a number of [spare] camels for the carriage of those who were unable to walk. All of this was due to the benefactions and generosity of the Sultan Abū Sa'īd.

Ibn Juzayy remarks: May God give honour to this illus- 406 trious appellation,[7] for how | admirable is its record of liberality! It is enough to mention only our lord, the ocean of bounties and uplifter of the standards of munificence, who was an exemplar of generosity and virtue, the Commander of the Muslims, Abū Sa'īd, son of our lord, the smiter of the infidels and avenger of Islam, the Commander of the Muslims Abū Yūsuf,[8] God sanctify their noble souls and preserve the kingship in their pure posterity to the Day of Judgment!

(Resumes). This caravan contained also animated bazaars and great supplies of luxuries and all kinds of food and fruit. They used to march during the night and light torches in front of the file of camels and litters, so that you saw the countryside gleaming with light and the darkness turned into radiant day.

We then set out from the Bottom of Marr to 'Usfan, and thence to Khulaiṣ, after which we made a march of four stages and encamped in Wādi'l-Samk, and having travelled thence for five nights encamped at Badr.[9] Of these stages two 407 were made | in the twenty-four hours, one after sunrise and the other during the first part of the night. After leaving Badr we encamped at al-Ṣafrā,[10] where we stayed for a whole day to rest. From here it is a three nights' march to al-Madīna the illustrious. Resuming our journey, we at length reached Ṭaiba, the City of the Apostle of God (God bless and

[6] Here apparently in the sense of 'bowls'. The same word has been applied to plates manufactured at Ba'albek; p. 117 above.

[7] Abū Sa'īd means, literally, 'Father of the Felicitous'.

[8] The Marīnid sultan of Morocco Abū Sa'īd 'Othmān II (1310–31) and his father Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb (1258–86), grandfather and great-grandfather of the reigning sultan Abū 'Inān. The first Marīnid sultans did not adopt the Caliphial style of 'Commander of the Faithful', but took instead the style of the early Almohads, 'Commander of the Muslims'; see Ibn Juzayy's Introduction, p. 3, n. 9.

[9] See pp. 185–6, nn. 121, 115.

[10] See p. 185, n. 113.

give him peace), and were privileged to visit once again the [tomb of the] Apostle of God (God bless and give him peace).

We stayed at al-Madīna (God Most High glorify her) for six days, and taking with us from there water for a three nights' journey, we set out from her. On the third night we encamped at Wādi'l-'Arūs,[11] where we provided ourselves with water from underground water-beds. They dig holes above them in the ground, and procure sweet flowing water. We then left Wādi'l-'Arūs and entered the land of the Najd, which is a level stretch of country [extending] as far as eye can see, and inhaled its sweet-scented air.[12] We halted after covering four stages at a water-point known as al-'Usaila,[13] and going on from there | halted at a water-point known as al-Naqira,[14] where there are the remains of cisterns like vast reservoirs. Thence we marched to a water-point known as al-Qārūra, being certain tanks filled with rain-water,[15] of those which were constructed by [order of] Zubaida, daughter of Ja'far (God's mercy and favour upon her). This place is the centre of the land of Najd, spacious, with sweet air and healthy climate, clean-soiled, and temperate in every season of the year. Then, leaving al-Qārūra, we stopped at al-Ḥājir,[16] where there are tanks for water, but as they often dry up

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[11] The pilgrim road from Kūfa to the Ḥijāz is known as *Darb Zubaida*, after the wife of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (see p. 243, n. 215), who had reservoirs constructed along the route and provided endowments for their upkeep. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account of the journey as far as Najaf closely follows that of Ibn Jubair, with some abridgments and additions. The exact position of Wādi'l-'Arūs is not indicated.

[12] All travellers note the exhilarating effect of the desert air. This is explained by Rohlfs, who noted that in the open desert in January and February (the season in which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa made the journey) the average ozone content is 7.3, as contrasted with a highest average of 4.9 in the oases.

[13] Seventy-two Arabic miles (about eighty-three English miles) from al-Madīna.

[14] The site of an ancient mine twenty-six Arabic miles from al-'Usaila, sometimes vocalized as al-Nuqra, and shown on modern maps as Naqra. Ibn Jubair has 'wells and cisterns like vast reservoirs'. The Pilgrim Road from Kūfa to Mecca direct bifurcated here.

[15] For the usual spelling 'al-Qarawrā', Ibn Jubair (followed by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa) substitutes al-Qārūra, meaning a vessel for wine or water, and sees in this an allusion to the tanks. Al-Qarawrā was twelve Arabic miles from the next halt at al-Ḥājir.

[16] On the Wādī Rumma, about eighty-five English miles south-west of Faid.

water has to be procured by digging temporary wells,[17] and going on from there stopped next at Samīra,[18] which is a patch of low-lying ground situated in a plain where there is a kind of fortified and inhabited enceinte. The water at Samīra is plentiful and drawn from [cased] wells, but it is brackish. The bedouins of that district bring sheep, melted butter and curdled milk, and sell these to the pilgrims for pieces of coarse cotton cloth, and they will not exchange them for anything but this. We resumed our journey and halted at the 'Hill with the Hole',[19] which lies in a tract of 409 desert | land and has at its summit a perforation from side to side through which the wind blows. We proceeded from there to Wādi'l-Kurūsh, which is waterless [in spite of its name], and after marching on through the night came in the morning to the fort of Faid.[20]

Faid is a large fortified enceinte on a level plain and surrounded by a wall, with a suburb outside it. Its inhabitants are Arabs, who make a living off the pilgrims by selling and trading. At that point the pilgrims leave some part of their provisions at the time of their arrival from al-'Irāq on the way to Mecca (God Most High ennoble her), and on the return journey they pick them up again.[21] It lies half way between Mecca and Baghdād, and from it to Kūfa is a twelve days' journey by an easy road furnished with supplies of water in tanks. It is the practice of the caravan to enter this place in military formation and warlike array, in order to overawe the Arabs who are assembled there [in considerable numbers] and to cut short their hopes of despoiling the caravan. We met there the two amīrs of the Arabs, Fayyāḍ and Ḥiyār, | 410 sons of the amīr Muhannā b. 'Īsā,[22] accompanied by a body

[17] Properly wide uncased holes.

[18] Twenty-three Arabic miles (about twenty-eight English miles) north-east of al-Ḥājir.

[19] Al-Makhrūqa, 'the perforated hill', is shown on Alois Musil's map of northern Nejd twenty-seven English miles south-west of Faid.

[20] Faid, at 27° 08′ N., 42° 28′ E., was the central station on the old Pilgrim Road, replaced in the nineteenth century by Ḥā'il; see Musil, *Northern Neǧd*, 216–20.

[21] The geographer Yāqūt adds that a portion of the provisions and heavy baggage was given in remuneration to the parties in whose care they were left.

[22] For Muhannā b. 'Īsā see p. 107, n. 152. There is an unflattering biography of Fayyāḍ (d. 1360) in *Durar*, III, 234, and of Ḥiyār, *ibid.*, II, 81.

of Arab horsemen and foot soldiers not to be reckoned for multitude; both of them displayed zeal for the safety and protection of the pilgrims and their possessions. The Arabs brought camels and sheep [for sale] and the pilgrims bought from them what they could afford.

We set out again and halted at the place known as al-Ajfur and made famous through the romantic lovers Jamīl and Buthaina.[23] Then travelling on we halted in the open desert, and again marching through the night halted at Zarūd,[24] a level plain, in which there are extensive sands. The place itself has some small dwellings, which they have surrounded by a sort of fortified enceinte, and there are wells of water there but they are unpalatable. Proceeding, we halted at al-Tha'labīya,[25] where there is a ruined fort, opposite which is an enormous reservoir reached by a stairway and containing a quantity of rain-water enough to meet the needs of the whole caravan. A great host of bedouin Arabs assemble at this place and they sell camels, | sheep, melted butter and 411 milk. From there to al-Kūfa are three marches.[26] We continued our journey and halted at Birkat al-Marjūm ('The Pool of the Stoned'), the latter being a tomb in the roadway with a great heap of stones upon it, and everyone who passes by throws a stone at it.[27] It is related that the person who is

[23] Al-Ajfur means 'the uncased wells', twenty-eight Arabic miles from Faid. According to Ibn Rusteh it was formerly a populous place with a Friday mosque (*jāmi'*). The poet Jamīl, of the tribe of 'Udhra, was the creator of a type of romantic poetry, called after him 'Udhrite. Much of his verse is addressed to his inamorata Buthaina.

[24] Also called al-Khuzaimīya, after the general Khuzaima b. Khāzim (d. 818–9), who constructed cisterns at this place, twenty Arabic miles from al-Ajfur. It is at 26° 54′ N., 43° 16′ E., about seventy-five English miles north-east of Faid in a direct line.

[25] Thirty-two Arabic (about thirty-seven English) miles from Zarūd, and formerly a walled town.

[26] *This obvious error seems to be found in all the MSS*, and arises from a misreading of Ibn Jubair, who states that from this point there are only three natural watering-places (*manāhil*) for the whole caravan before reaching Kūfa (namely Zubāla, Wāqiṣa, and a water-course derived from the Euphrates near Kūfa, as described below). Ibn Jubair also describes the terrifying crush to secure a provision of water at al-Tha'labīya.

[27] According to Ibn Rusteh and al-Hamdānī, the intermediate halt between al-Tha'labīya and 'the Cleft' was at al-Biṭānīya or al-Biṭān (on modern maps al-Butāna), twenty-eight Arabic miles from al-Tha'labīya.

thus stoned was a Rāfiḍī;[28] he set out with the caravan to make the Pilgrimage, but a dispute broke out between him and some Turks, followers of the *Sunna*, in the course of which he reviled one of the Companions [of the Prophet], so they killed him by [throwing] stones. At this place there are many tents of the bedouins, who come to the caravan bringing melted butter, curdled milk and so on, and there is also a large reservoir enough to supply the needs of the entire caravan. This too is one of those constructed by Zubaida (God's mercy upon her); indeed, every reservoir, pool or well on this road which goes from Mecca to Baghdād is due to her munificent bounty—God give her goodly reward and recompense her for them in full; for, had it not been for her 212 concern on behalf of this | road, it would not be usable by anyone.

Continuing our journey, we halted at a place known as al-Mashqūq ['the Cleft'],[29] where there are two reservoirs containing fresh sweet water. Everyone emptied out what water was still in his possession and took a fresh supply from them. Then we went on and after halting at a place called al-Tanānīr ['the Ovens'], where there is a reservoir filled with water, we made a night march from there and sometime after sunrise arrived before Zumāla,[30] an inhabited village with a fortified grange belonging to some Arabs, two reservoirs of water and many wells. This place is one of the natural watering-places on this road. We set out again and halted at al-Haithamān,[31] where there are two reservoirs of water; then continuing on our way halted below the defile known as 'Aqabat al-Shaiṭān ['Devil's Pass'].[32] We climbed the defile on the following day. There is no steep place on that road except this, and even it is neither difficult nor considerable.

[28] I.e. Shi'ite, see p. 83, n. 62. This legend is apparently later than Ibn Jubair's time.

[29] In Ibn Rusteh and al-Hamdānī al-Shuqūq, at a distance of twenty-nine and twenty-two Arabic miles respectively from al-Biṭānīya.

[30] Properly Zubāla, nineteen Arabic miles from al-Shuqūq, at 43° 45′ E., 29° 26′ N.

[31] Ibn Rusteh and al-Hamdānī give this station the name of Qā'; on current maps it is shown as 'al-Gā wal-Haitam', about 43° 40′ E., 29° 46′ N., eighteen Arabic miles from Zubāla.

[32] Shown on Musil's map as ash-She'eb at 30° 11′ N., 43° 42′ E., twenty-five Arabic miles from al-Gā (al-Haithamān).

We halted next at a place | called Wāqiṣa,[33] where there is a 413 large fortified grange and reservoirs of water. It is inhabited by bedouin Arabs, and is the last of the natural watering-places on this road, for thereafter until al-Kūfa there is no conspicuous watering-place except the watercourses derived from the Euphrates. At this point many of the people of al-Kūfa come out to meet the pilgrim caravan, bringing flour, bread, dried dates and fruit, and the travellers congratulate one another on their safe journey. We then halted at a place known as Lawra,[34] where there is a large reservoir for water; then at a place known as al-Masājid ['the Mosques'],[35] where there are three reservoirs; then at a place known as Manārat al-Qurūn ['the Tower of Horns'],[36] this being a tower in a desert locality, conspicuous in height and decorated on top with horns of gazelles, with no habitation around it. We halted next at a place known as al-'Udhaib,[37] which is a fruitful valley covered with dwellings and cultivation and surrounded by a plain abounding in pasture and affording a pleasant prospect to the eyes. Thereafter we halted at al-Qādisīya, where the famous battle was fought against the Persians, in which God manifested the triumph of the Faith of Islām, | and subdued the Magians, the fire-worshippers, 414 so that after it no foot was left for them to stand on and God extirpated their root.[38] The commander of the Muslims at that time was Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ (God be pleased with him), and al-Qādisīya was a great city which Sa'd (God be pleased with him) took by force, but it fell into ruins so that nothing now remains of it except as much as constitutes a large village. The place contains some palm-groves and at it there are water courses of Euphrates water.

We went on from there and halted at the town of Mashhad

[33] About sixty English miles north of al-Gā, at 43° 43' E., 30° 35' N. Wāqiṣa also was a populous centre in earlier centuries.

[34] Sixteen English miles north by east from Wāqiṣa.

[35] Or al-Musaijid ('the Little Mosque'), thirty-four English miles north by east from Wāqiṣa and sixty-eight south by west from al-Najaf. Ibn Jubair substitutes for this 'a place containing the remains of buildings, called al-Qar'ā.'

[36] Also called Umm Qurūn, twenty-six English miles from al-Masājid.

[37] The last outpost of 'Irāq in the Middle Ages.

[38] Al-Qādisīya, fifteen miles south of al-Najaf, was the site of the battle in which the Arab forces under Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ totally defeated the main army of the Sāsānid kings of Persia in 637, five years after Muḥammad's

'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib[39] (God be pleased with him) at al-Najaf. It is a fine city, situated in a wide rocky plain—one of the finest, most populous, and most substantially built cities of al-'Irāq, and it has beautiful clean bazaars. We entered it by the [outer] Bāb al-Ḥaḍra and made our way through the bazaar of the greengrocers, cooks, and butchers, then through the fruit-market, then the bazaar of the tailors and the Qaisārīya,[40] then the perfumers' bazaar, and so came to the [inner] 415 Bāb al-Ḥaḍra, where is | the tomb which they claim to be the tomb of 'Alī[41] (peace be upon him). Fronting it are a number of colleges, religious houses and convents, most beautifully adorned, their walls being faced with qāshānī [tiles], which resemble the *zalīj* in our country but are more lustrous in colour and more finely engraved.[42]

The mausoleum[43] and tombs contained in it. One enters through the Bāb al-Ḥaḍra into a vast college, inhabited by students and ṣūfīs belonging to the Shī'a. Everyone who visits it receives hospitality for three days—namely, bread, meat, and dried dates twice daily. From this college one gains access to the gateway of the domed shrine, which is guarded by a number of doorkeepers, chamberlains and eunuchs. As the visitor [to the tomb] approaches, one of them rises to

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death, and gained possession of the whole of 'Irāq. Al-Qādisīya was never a city, and in the next sentence Ibn Baṭṭūṭa appears to confuse it with al-Madā'in (Ctesiphon), the capital, which fell to the Arabs after the battle.

[39] I.e. 'the Sepulchre of 'Alī', the Prophet's nephew and son-in-law; elected caliph in 656 after the murder of 'Othmān (see p. 180, n. 91), he removed the capital from al-Madīna to Kūfa and was assassinated there by a fanatic in 660. For his sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain see p. 179, n. 90, and p. 46, n. 140.

[40] See p. 97, n. 115.

[41] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's caution is justified by the historical records, which by no means favour any categorical assertion of the genuineness of the site, although it has been held in especial reverence (together with the tomb of his son al-Ḥusain at Karbalā) by the Shi'ites from early times. Both cities, as Shi'ite holy places, were richly endowed with religious institutions, and have remained to the present day centres of Shi'ite learning.

[42] Qāshān, between Iṣfahān and Qumm, was the most celebrated centre of manufacture of the blue and green enamelled tiles used for the decoration of walls: hence the term *qāshānī* for such tiles. The corresponding tiles of Spanish-Arab manufacture were (and are) called *zalīj*, a term derived from Spanish *azulejo*, itself derived from Perso-Arabic *lāzward* = lapis lazuli.

[43] Literally, 'the Garden' (*al-Rawḍa*), by derivation from the *Rawḍa* in the Prophet's mosque at al-Madīna (see p. 165, n. 44). *Bāb al-Ḥaḍra* means 'Gate of the Presence'.

meet him or all of them do, this being regulated by the visitor's rank. They stand beside him on the threshold and ask permission for him to enter, saying: 'By your leave, O Commander of the Faithful,[44] | this feeble creature asks per- 416 mission for his entry to the sublime mausoleum.[45] If ye grant it to him [so be it], but if not, he will turn back; and though he be not worthy of this [favour], ye are the possessor of generous qualities and of dignity.' They then bid him kiss the threshold, which is of silver, as also are the doorposts. Having done so, he enters the shrine, which is carpeted with various sorts of carpets of silk and other materials, and contains candelabra of gold and silver, large and small. In the centre of [the space beneath] the dome is a square platform, faced with wood, upon which are carved golden plaques of excellent workmanship, hammered on with silver nails, which have so completely masked the wood that none of it is visible. The height of the platform is less than the stature of a man, and on top of it are three tombs, of which they assert that one is the tomb of Adam (upon him be blessing and peace), the second the tomb of Noah (upon him be blessing and peace), and the third the tomb of 'Alī (God be pleased with him).[46] Between the tombs are dishes of gold | and silver, containing rose-water, musk and various kinds of 417 perfumes. The visitor dips his hand in this and anoints his face with it for a blessing. The shrine has another door the threshold of which is likewise of silver, and with hangings of coloured silk over it. This leads to a mosque laid with beautiful carpets, its walls and ceiling concealed by silken hangings, and having four doorways with thresholds of silver and covered by silken hangings.

The inhabitants of this city are all of them Rāfiḍīs, and at this mausoleum certain miracles are operated, whereby it is established, so they claim, that the mausoleum does indeed contain the grave of 'Alī (God be pleased with him). One of these miracles is that on the eve of the twenty-seventh of

[44] The Caliphial title *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* (see p. 250, n 8 above) is reserved by the 'Twelver' Shi'ites exclusively to 'Alī.

[45] *Al-Rawḍa al-'Aliyya*, with a play on the name of 'Alī.

[46] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa insists on employing after the name of 'Alī the Sunni formula given to Companions of the Prophet, instead of the Shi'ite formula 'upon him be peace'.

Rajab, which is called by them 'the night of life',[47] all the crippled are brought to this mausoleum from the two 'Irāqs, Khurāsān, the country of Fārs and Rūm,[48] so that there are assembled some thirty or forty of them. After the last ritual prayer of the night, they are placed upon the sanctified 418 tomb, while the people | wait in expectation of their rising and pass the time, some in praying, others in reciting liturgies, or reading [the Qur'ān], or in contemplation of the mausoleum. When the night is half over, or two-thirds or so, the whole company arise sound in body, with no trace of disease, and saying: 'There is no God but God; Muḥammad is the Apostle of God; 'Alī is the Friend of God.'[49] This is a thing much spoken of among them; I heard of it from trustworthy persons, but I was not actually present on any such night. I saw, however, in the Guests' College three men, one from the land of Rūm, the second from Iṣfahān and the third from Khurāsān, who were cripples, and when I asked them about themselves they told me that they had missed the 'Night of Life' and were waiting for its time to come round next year. This night serves as occasion for a gathering of the people from the district, and they hold a great fair lasting for ten days.

419 In this town there is no | tax, no farmer of market or *octroi* dues, and no royal governor, but the government over them is exercised solely by the Marshal of the Sharīfs.[50] Its inhabitants are merchants, who travel far and wide; they are courageous and open-handed, and their protégé suffers no wrong on his journeyings with them, so that their company is highly commended. But they are fanatical about 'Alī (God be pleased with him). There are some people in the land of al-'Irāq and other lands who, if attacked by illness, vow to make a votive offering to the mausoleum when they recover. In other cases a man suffering from illness in the head

[47] *Lailat al-Maḥyā*; this is the same night celebrated by the Sunnis as the 'Night of the Ascension', *lailat al-Mi'rāj*; see p. 77, n. 32.

[48] I.e. Anatolia, the *Rūm* being the Byzantine Greeks.

[49] This is one form of the Shi'ite formula for the profession of faith, the third phrase being added to the two basic tenets of Islam.

[50] *Naqīb al-Ashrāf*, the marshal (or keeper of the register) of the descendants of the Prophet through 'Alī and Fāṭima, called Sharīfs. Every district and major city had its own Naqīb al-Ashrāf.

will make a head of gold or silver and bring it to the mausoleum, and the Marshal puts it into the treasury; likewise with hand or foot, or any other member. The treasury of the mausoleum is enormous, and contains such a quantity of riches as defies exact computation.

The Naqīb al-Ashrāf (marshal of the sharīfs). The Naqīb al-Ashrāf is appointed by the king of al-'Irāq as his representative;[51] | his position in the king's esteem is an assured one 420 and he has an exalted rank [at the court]. He observes the same ceremony as the great amīrs on his journeys; he has flags and drums, and military music[52] is played at his gate evening and morning. In his hands is the government of this city—there is no other governor in it, and no tax is levied in it either for the Sultan or for anyone else. The Naqīb at the time of my entering the city was Niẓām al-Dīn b. Tāj al-Dīn al-Āwī,[53] the ethnic being derived from the town of Āwa in Persian 'Irāq,[54] whose inhabitants are Rāfiḍīs. Before him there were a number, each of whom held the office in succession. Amongst these were Jalāl al-Dīn ibn al-Faqīh; Qiwām al-Dīn ibn Ṭā'ūs; Nāṣir al-Dīn Muṭahhar son of the pious sharīf Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Awharī, from Persian 'Irāq, who is now in the land of India and one of the familiars of the king of that country; and | Abū Ghurra b. 421 Sālim b. Muhannā b. Jammāz b. Shīḥa, of the Ḥusainī house of al-Madīna.[55]

An anecdote. The Sharīf Abū Ghurra was in his early youth given over to devotion and study, and acquired repute

[51] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa appears to use the term *muqaddam* to imply representation as distinct from direct appointment; as stated below, the Sultan did not nominate the Naqīb but confirmed the choice of the leading citizens.

[52] The *ṭabl khāna*, see p. 89, n. 80.

[53] The son of Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al Ḥusain al-Āwī (or al-Āwajī) (see vol. II, p. 57 of the Arabic text), who was credited with converting the Mongol Ilkhān Uljaytu to Shī'ism, and was executed in Dhu'l-Qa'da 711 (April 1312).

[54] There were two towns named Āveh (=Āwa) in the same province, one midway between Qumm and Hamadān, the other (distinguished as 'Āveh of Sāveh') south of Sāveh and about thirty miles west of Qumm. The latter is more probably the one meant here, as its population was noted for their fervent Shī'ite profession.

[55] Jammāz b. Shīḥa, d. 1304, of the Ḥusainid line of Sharīfs, had been amīr of al-Madīna for over fifty years. For Manṣūr and other members of the family see p. 178, nn. 82, 83.

thereby. He lived at that time in al-Madīna the Illustrious (God glorify her), under the care of his cousin Manṣūr b. Jammāz, the amīr of al-Madīna. Later on he left al-Madīna and made his home in al-'Irāq, settling there at al-Ḥilla. When the Naqīb Qiwām ad-Dīn b. Ṭā'ūs died, the men of al-'Irāq agreed to invest Abū Ghurra with the office of Naqīb al-Ashrāf, and wrote to this effect to the Sultan Abū Sa'īd, who confirmed the recommendation and sent to Abū Ghurra the *yarlīgh*, that is to say the *dhahīr*,[56] of investiture. He was sent also the robe of honour, the standard and the drums, as is customary for the *naqībs* in the land of al-'Irāq. Then the world got the better of him, he gave up his devotions and his 422 pious abstinences, | and made unrighteous use of the moneys at his disposal. This conduct of his was brought to the notice of the Sultan accordingly. When Abū Ghurra learned of this he set out on a journey, giving out that he was making for Khurāsān with the object of visiting the tomb of 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā, at Ṭūs,[57] but his real purpose was to escape. So, after visiting the tomb of 'Alī b. Mūsā, he proceeded to Herāt, which is the last of the cities of Khurāsān, and informed his companions that he intended to go to India. Most of them abandoned him, but he for his part went on from the territory of Khurāsān towards Sind. After crossing the river of Sind, which is called Panj Āb,[58] he had his drums and his trumpets sounded, and thereby so startled the villagers that they thought that the Tatars had come to raid them and fled in panic to the city called Ūjā, where they informed the governor of what they had heard. He rode therefore with his troops and prepared for battle. When he sent out the scouts, they discovered about ten horsemen and a number of men on 423 foot and merchants who | had accompanied the Sharīf on his road, carrying kettledrums and banners. The scouts asked them who they were and what they were doing, and were told

[56] *Yarligh* was the Mongol term for a patent of investiture (see Yule, *Marco Polo*, ed. Cordier, I, 352). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa translates it by the equivalent term, peculiar to Morocco, for a diploma or public act of the sovereign.

[57] 'Alī, entitled al-Riḍā, eighth Imām of the Twelver Shī'ites, died in 818 and was buried at Ṭūs; his sanctuary, called Mashhad 'Alī, was the origin of the city of Meshed (see *Selections*, 177, and 360, n. 12).

[58] Panj Āb (in Arabic transcription *Banj Āb*) is always used by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa as the name of the Indus river (*Selections*, 181).

that the Sharīf, the Naqīb of al-'Irāq, had come on a mission to the king of India. They returned and reported the circumstances to the governor, who opined that the Sharīf showed little intelligence in hoisting his banners and beating his drums outside his own country. The Sharīf entered the city of Ūjā and stayed there for a time, having the drums beaten at the gate of his residence morning and evening, for that used to give him much gratification. It is said that in the days of his marshalship in al-'Irāq, the kettledrums were beaten before him and when the drummer finished beating he would say to him 'One more roll, drummer', until the phrase stuck to him as a nickname.

The governor of the town of Ūjā wrote to the king of India to report [the arrival of] the Sharīf and his drum-beating, both on his journey and before his residence morning and evening, | as well as his flying of banners. Now the 424 custom among the people of India is that no person hoists a banner or beats a drum except those to whom the king has given this privilege, and [even then] they do so only while travelling. When in residence, however, no drum is beaten except at the king's gate alone. In Egypt, Syria and al-'Irāq, on the other hand, drums are beaten at the gates of the military commanders. When the report on the Sharīf reached the king of India, therefore, he was displeased and annoyed at his action, and resented it. The Sharīf[59] departed some time later for the king's capital. Now the amīr Kishlū Khān (the term *khān* is applied by them to the greatest of the amīrs), being the resident in Multān, the seat of government in the country of al-Sind—he is held in high regard by the king of India, who calls him 'Uncle', because he was one of those who aided the king's father, the sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq-Shāh, to fight against the Nāṣir al-Dīn Khusraw-Shāh[60]—had come to the capital of the king of India | and 425 the king went out to receive him. It happened that the Sharīf's arrival was on that same day. The Sharīf had preceded the amīr by some miles [and as he approached the city] with his drums beating as usual, suddenly he met the Sultan

[59] The text has *al-amīr*, but the sense of the narrative clearly requires the reading *al-sharīf*.

[60] The narrative of these events is given more fully in vol. III.

with his cortège. The Sharīf went forward to the Sultan and saluted him, but the Sultan, after asking him how he was and why he had come and hearing his answers, went on till he met the amīr Kishlū Khān, and returned to his capital without paying any attention to the Sharīf or giving orders for his lodging or anything else. The king was then on the point of travelling to the city of Dawlat Ābād (which is also called al-Kataka, and also al-Duwaigir)[61]—it is at a distance of forty days from the city of Dihlī, the capital of the kingdom—and when he set out on his journey he sent the Sharīf five hundred silver dīnārs (the exchange value of this in the gold 426 of Morocco being one hundred and twenty-five | dīnārs), and said to the messenger whom he dispatched to the Sharīf: 'Tell him that if he wants to go back to his country, this is his travelling provision, and if he wants to travel with us it is for his expenses on the journey, but if he prefers to stay in the capital it is for his expenses until we return.' The Sharīf was vexed at this, for what he desired was that the Sultan should make as lavish an allowance to him as he usually did to his equals. He chose to travel in the Sultan's company and attached himself to the wazīr, Aḥmad b. Aiyās, called *Khwāja Jahān*[62] (this is the title which was given to him by the king and by which he calls himself and is called by all other persons, for it is their custom that when the king confers on anyone a title composed with *al-Mulk*, such as *'Imād* or *Thiqat* or *Quṭb*, or a title composed with *al-Jahān* such as *Ṣadr*, etc., this is the name by which he is addressed by the king and by all persons, and anyone who addresses him in any other way is punished without fail).

427 A strong friendship grew up | between the wazīr and the Sharīf, and the former made gifts to him, showed him great honour, and so used his influence with the king that he came to regard him with favour and assigned him two villages in

[61] Deogir (transcribed by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa as if it were an Arabic diminutive name) is the name of the ancient fortress in the Deccan (described later by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, see *Selections*, 227 and 363, n. 7) which was renamed Dawlat Ābād by Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluq. I have found no explanation of the name Kataka.

[62] Aḥmad Aiyāz, 'the Master of the World', Sultan Muḥammad's vizier, is frequently mentioned in the Indian section of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's travels. He died in 1351.

the district of Dawlat Ābād, with an order that he should reside in them. This wazīr was an excellent and virtuous man, of high qualities of character, with a liking for foreigners and generous towards them, and he made a practice of charity and distributing food and building hospices.

The Sharīf continued to enjoy the revenues of the two villages for eight years and acquired thereby a large fortune. He then wished to leave the country, but could not, since those who are in the king's service may not leave without his permission, and he has a great liking for foreigners and rarely gives anyone of them leave to depart. So the Sharīf tried to escape by way of the coast road, but was turned back from it; then he went to the capital and besought the wazīr to undertake the matter of his departure. The wazīr used his good offices to that end, | so that the Sultan finally consented to his [428] leaving the land of India and made him a gift of 10,000 of their silver dīnārs (the value of which in Moroccan gold is 2,500 dīnārs). The money was brought to him in a sack and he used to put it beneath his mattress and sleep on it, out of his love of money and joy in it and his fear lest any of it should get to any of his companions, for he was a miser. As a result of sleeping on it he was attacked by a pain in his side, which persistently grew worse just as he was about to set out on his journey, and eventually he died twenty days after receiving the sack. He bequeathed that money to the Sharīf Ḥasan al-Jarānī,[63] who distributed the whole amount in alms to a community of Shi'ites from the Ḥijāz and al-'Irāq living in Dihlī. The Indians do not escheat inheritances to the treasury[64] nor do they interfere with the property of strangers nor even | make inquiries about it, let it amount to as much [429] as it may. In the same ways the Blacks [of the Niger kingdoms] never interfere with the property of a white man, nor seize it, but it is left in charge of the principal members of his company until the rightful heir comes to claim it.

This Sharīf Abū Ghurra had a brother named Qāsim, who lived for a time in Granada. He married there the daughter

[63] The reading of this name is doubtful (Ḥarrānī, Ḥirāfī?), and the Sharīf seems to be otherwise unknown.

[64] Which is in Islamic law the ultimate heir, in default of kinsmen. But medieval Islamic governments not infrequently seized inheritances on various pretexts.

of the Sharīf Abū 'Abdallāh b. Ibrāhīm, known as al-Makkī, and thereafter removed to Jabal Ṭāriq [Gibraltar] where he remained until he gained martyrdom in Wādī Kurra, in the province of al-Jazīra al-Khaḍrā' [Algeciras].[65] He was a hero of heroes; none ventured to be scorched in his fire, and he performed miracles of valour. His bravery is the subject of many stories which are widely known amongst the people. He left two sons, who are still under ward of their stepfather, the worthy Sharīf Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Abi'l-Qāsim b. Nafīs al-Ḥusainī al-Karbalā'ī, well known in the 430 Maghrib by the name of al-'Irāqī[66] (he had | married their mother after their father's death, and she died while with him) and he continues his benevolent care of them, God reward him well!

[65] Neither Qāsim nor Wādī Kurra has been traced in contemporary Spanish-Arabic sources.

[66] Probably son of the Chief Qāḍī of Granada, mentioned in vol. IV, p. 370 of the Arabic text.

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